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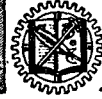
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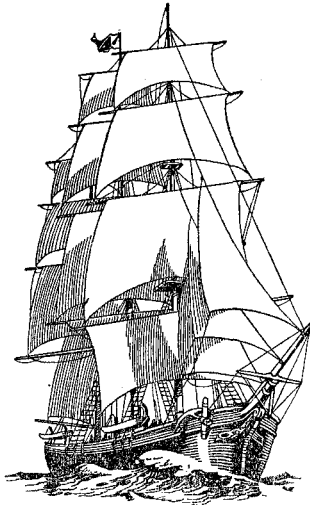
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# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## The Rise of American Intellectual History

JOHN HIGHAM

A BRANCH of learning which claims for itself both a position as a new specialty and a role in surmounting specialization is not likely to submit easily to definition. In 1950, intellectual history was still seeking coherence, still eluding confinement. To some scholars it seemed basically a history of intellectuals, to others a history of ideas, and to a third group it included every type and level of mental activity. But despite shifting programmatic emphases, intellectual history had acquired, in the course of its separation from pre-existing studies, a distinctive orientation. It scrutinized the relatively enduring organizations of thought and emotion (knowledge, opinion, faith, attitudes) as they develop and operate within particular historical contexts. Other types of history often used the same materials and sometimes considered the same questions. Histories of knowledge or art, for example, might seek primarily to evaluate a category of cultural achievements yet illuminate intellectual relationships in doing so. In intellectual history, the search for connections between bodies of thought and related areas of intellectual or social experience was central and systematic.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For various definitions of intellectual history, see Crane Brinton, *Ideas and Men: The Story of Western Thought* (New York, 1950), pp. 7-17; Franklin L. Baumer, "Intellectual

This search began when men first looked to the act of thinking for a key to the whole course of historical development. In the hands of certain eighteenth century rationalists, the idea of progress opened an almost new dimension to man's conception of the past. For the first time, the history of thought assumed a central importance in historical study as Voltaire, Condorcet, and others celebrated the progress of humanity and the power of reason as its driving force. To these apostles of Enlightenment, the record of human intelligence in the past had an altogether new significance: it confirmed their faith in a progressive future.<sup>2</sup>

The first American to study systematically the materials of intellectual history performed a similar function and bore a similar debt to the impulse of the Enlightenment. In surveying advances in twenty arts and sciences, Samuel Miller's *Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (1803) showed caution as well as learning; but it testified in nearly every chapter to the triumphs of progress and reason. Miller never fulfilled his plan of expanding the two-volume work which he published in his early thirties, and in later years this Jeffersonian clergyman repented of the secular enthusiasms of his youth.<sup>3</sup> To a degree, his countrymen followed the same course. When the age of reason passed, American faith in progress secured broader foundations, and intellectual history did not flourish. It remained for a new Enlightenment in the twentieth century to undertake in American historiography a sustained exploitation of the promise of the eighteenth.

Yet for all its concentration on political themes, the nineteenth century did not entirely ignore the history of thought. In Europe a few scholars, including Burckhardt, Buckle, and Lecky, worked on that amorphous story of human achievement known as the history of civilization, thereby calling attention to the importance of ideas. In the United States, three men with unusually broad interests blazed similar paths in the third quarter of the century. John W. Draper, the first and most speculative of them, wrote a *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* to convert history into a positivistic science.<sup>4</sup> Andrew D. White, a Cornell University president whose view of the past came largely from Guizot, Buckle, Lecky, and Draper, sur-

---

History and Its Problems," *Journal of Modern History*, XXI (September, 1949), 191-203; Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 3-23; Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), pp. ix-xvii. For conceptual definitions I am indebted to David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield, *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology* (New York, 1948), pp. 149-74.

<sup>2</sup> John B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress* (London, 1920), pp. 127-58.

<sup>3</sup> *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York, 1803), I, 4-11, II, 410; Samuel Miller, *The Life of Samuel Miller, D.D. LL.D.* (Philadelphia, 1869), pp. 121-33, 178.

<sup>4</sup> 2 vols. (New York, 1863); Donald Fleming, *John William Draper and the Religion of Science* (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 74-94.

veyed the clash of theology and science more carefully than Draper but no less zealously.<sup>5</sup> Henry C. Lea, a Philadelphia book publisher, dealt only with the theological side of the matter; his bold and ranging treatment of ecclesiastical institutions and ideas—enhanced by the influence of Lecky—filled seventeen volumes of surpassing scholarship.<sup>6</sup> Although very different from one another in many ways, each of the three was, in some degree, an heir of the Enlightenment, confident of man's progress through his intellectual emancipation.

These stirrings did little for the study of American history. Of the three pioneers, only Draper wrote about the native scene, and when he did so he shifted from ideas to a political and military account of the Civil War.<sup>7</sup> The neglect of American for European themes extended into the next generation of intellectual historians which appeared from the 1890's to the First World War. Like Draper, William A. Dunning analyzed the thinking of Europeans and the behavior of Americans.<sup>8</sup> James Harvey Robinson and most of his students were Europeanists. Henry Adams, who wrote brilliantly on medieval culture and early American politics, tried to relate both subjects to intellectual development. His *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* succeeded, but the descriptions of intellectual life in the introductory and concluding chapters of his *History of the United States* bore no significant relation to the heart of the story, and Adams knew it.<sup>9</sup> Clearly, the American past failed to inspire the historians of culture and ideas. Indeed, the country lacked a considerable body of systematic speculation in any field. Its historians had little sense of a vital, indigenous heritage of thought, for American intellectual achievement seemed insignificant in comparison to the political, social, and economic achievements which absorbed the scholars. Other intellectual historians must have shared the belief of the great medievalist, Henry Osborn Taylor, that American civilization was too practical and unlovely to warrant attention.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White*, 2 vols. (New York, 1905), I, 38, 42, 259–61; A. D. White, "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization," *Papers of the American Historical Association*, I (1885), 18; A. D. White, *The Warfare of Science* (New York, 1876).

<sup>6</sup> Henry C. Lea, *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church* (Boston, 1867), p. vi; Edward Sculley Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea: A Biography* (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 118–22, 127–28. For his social ideas, see Arthur C. Howland, ed., *Minor Historical Writings and Other Essays by Henry Charles Lea* (Philadelphia, 1942).

<sup>7</sup> John W. Draper, *History of the American Civil War*, 3 vols. (New York, 1867–70).

<sup>8</sup> William A. Dunning, *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Medieval* (New York, 1902), and *Reconstruction, Political and Economic, 1865–1877* (New York, 1907).

<sup>9</sup> *History of the United States of America during the . . . Administration of Thomas Jefferson*, 4 vols. (New York, 1889–91), I, 130, 176, III, 212.

<sup>10</sup> Henry O. Taylor, *Human Values and Verities* (Edinburgh, 1929), pp. 55–59. "We are a commercial people. We cannot boast of our arts, our crafts, our cultivation; our boast is in the

To find substance and significance in American thought, historians needed a cultural pride that would make this aspect of the nation's past seem intrinsically important to them; and they needed too an interpretive method that would give real meaning to the neglected record of thought by connecting it with the alluring story of deeds. One nineteenth century historian of distinction did have both qualifications. Moses Coit Tyler was convinced that by studying America's mind and spirit he could illuminate its whole historical development; and with cultural nationalism he was richly endowed. Driven by a sense of patriotic dedication and upheld by confidence in the significance of ideas, Tyler inaugurated the critical study of American intellectual history.

In searching for a scholarly vocation during the decade after the Civil War, Tyler longed "to help American civilization to be a success." Disturbed at the perils that beset American society in the Gilded Age, he hoped through history to reassert the force of national ideals. Reading Buckle's *History of Civilization in England* spurred him on, for there he found an exciting demonstration that intellectual activity supplied the motive force for social evolution. But instead of following Buckle in a quest for mechanistic laws, Tyler adopted Sainte-Beuve's biographical method and studied the lives of individual intellectuals in order to understand their minds.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to these influences, the young Michigan scholar had a grounding in both literature and history sufficient to attempt the kind of interdisciplinary investigation that has been essential to the development of the field he pioneered. When circumstances deflected Tyler from writing a general American history to writing a history of American literature, he produced detailed surveys of the colonial and Revolutionary periods which he could properly announce as intellectual history.<sup>12</sup> Here early American writings appeared chiefly as transcriptions of the conditions and conceptions of their times. His volumes on the Revolutionary era dismissed almost entirely the artistic values which literary critics continued to stress, and instead discoursed grandly about the decisive influence of ideas in American history.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, Tyler was still doing literary history quite as much as intellectual

---

wealth we produce," said Ida M. Tarbell in *History of the Standard Oil Company*, 2 vols. (New York, 1904), II, 284.

<sup>11</sup> Jessica Tyler Austen, ed., *Moses Coit Tyler, 1835-1900: Selections from His Letters and Diaries* (New York, 1911), pp. 42-44; Howard Mumford Jones and Thomas Edgar Casady, *The Life of Moses Coit Tyler* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1933), pp. 141, 149-50.

<sup>12</sup> George L. Burr, "Moses Coit Tyler," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1901* (Washington, 1902), I, 193; Moses Coit Tyler, *A History of American Literature during the Colonial Period, 1607-1765*, 2 vols. (New York, 1878) I, 5.

<sup>13</sup> Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783*, 2 vols. (New York, 1897), I, vii-viii, 8-9, 28.



history. Basically, he presented a sequence of writers rather than a system of thought, and respected the boundaries of genres rather than the movements of ideas. In a fragmentary way, however, he got hold of men's thoughts—many of them, at least—and set them in a social context. If Tyler lacked the interpretive power and singleness of purpose to make good on his claim of depicting the inner spirit of the American people, he exhumed a large phase of their history and presented it with massive and enduring scholarship.

Tyler had no immediate successors, although his friend, Edward Eggleston, worked into colonial intellectual history from another direction. A pioneer social historian, Eggleston brought from his earlier career as a realistic novelist an honest interest in folk-culture. His last book, issued in 1901, stressed popular beliefs more than customs and institutions. It was a premature effort, but furnished an early indication of how far social historians might swing from accustomed orbits.<sup>14</sup> Although Eggleston reached the study of ideas across the trackless wastes of social history while Tyler moved down from the lofty heights of literary history, the two men had distinctive traits in common. Both were men of letters, self-trained as scholars. Both regarded American thought as worth writing about because they could approach it as somehow historically influential.<sup>15</sup> Yet they lived at a time when historiography was passing into the hands of academic professionals with very different canons of historical significance.

In the 1870's, when Tyler's first volume appeared, historical scholarship in the United States was coming under the control of a set of principles which very largely blocked off the path that he opened. The ideals of stark objectivity which Henry Adams, Herbert Baxter Adams, and John W. Burgess imported from German seminars made researchers suspicious of airy assertions—like those of Tyler and Eggleston—on the power of ideas in history. This was all to the good, but the "scientific" historians had no interpretive method to take the place of appeals to the *Zeitgeist*. In the absence of such a method they were inclined to ignore the problem of intellectual influences and the whole field of intellectual studies as well. Instead, they concentrated on political and institutional themes, thereby reinforcing the general tendency of patriots to celebrate America's political heritage above all else. Furthermore, the "scientific" school's devotion to pure fact-finding aroused distrust of the history of ideas as a quagmire of subjectivity. Wary of passing

<sup>14</sup> *The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1901); Charles Hirschfeld, "Edward Eggleston: Pioneer in Social History," in Eric F. Goldman, ed., *Historiography and Urbanization: Essays in American History in Honor of W. Stull Holt* (Baltimore, 1941), pp. 189-210.

<sup>15</sup> Eggleston, *Transit*, p. 1.

judgments on the facts, these scholars tended to shun the aspects of history where judgments and values composed the very substance for investigation. The sequence of external events appeared to offer them a safe bridge above the swirling stream of thought.<sup>16</sup> As a result, European intellectual history suffered as well as American; only a small minority of American students ventured into the history of European thought even though they had richer resources to exploit than did their colleagues in the American field.<sup>17</sup>

In the first decade of the twentieth century, a revolt against the methodological assumptions of the "scientific" historians began; and since those assumptions formed a basic obstacle to the study of ideas, it was not surprising that the rebels also prepared the way for the development of intellectual history. This attack on the traditional canons of objectivity developed under the leadership of James Harvey Robinson. He called his cause "the new history," by which he meant the achievement of comprehensive syntheses based consciously on principles of selection derived from contemporary issues. In a loose philosophical way, Robinson and most of his associates were pragmatists; politically they were progressives. As pragmatic progressives, they liked to think of ideas as instruments of adjustment to practical situations and needs; and they counted on intelligence and knowledge to keep those instruments serviceable for social improvement. In this light, the functioning of the human mind in history seemed both explicable and significant; they had a method for dealing with it and a sense of its importance.<sup>18</sup> In a way, Robinson's group were twentieth century *philosophes*—intrigued by the working of ideas in aiding or impeding progress but more anxious to evaluate the power of intelligence than to prove it.

Robinson undoubtedly did more than anyone else in his day to promote the study of intellectual history. He began teaching a famous course on the subject in 1904, and he left a band of disciples with the conviction that the

<sup>16</sup> Robin George Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1946), p. 132.

<sup>17</sup> Charles H. Haskins, "European History and American Scholarship," *American Historical Review*, XXVIII (January, 1923), 215-27.

<sup>18</sup> James Harvey Robinson, *The New History* (New York, 1912), especially pp. 23-24, 101-31, 134-37; Carl Becker, "Some Aspects of the Influence of Social Problems and Ideas upon the Study and Writing of History," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, VII (1912), 73-107. On Robinson's debt to pragmatism see Harry Elmer Barnes, "James Harvey Robinson," in Howard W. Odum, ed., *American Masters of Social Science* (New York, 1927), pp. 326-27, 330. For Becker's intellectual antecedents, see his statement in Malcolm Cowley and Bernard Smith, eds., *Books That Changed Our Minds* (New York, 1939), p. 6. The clearest statement of Robinson's instrumentalist approach to ideas appears in his *The Mind in the Making: The Relation of Intelligence to Social Reform* (New York, 1921). The background to the present interpretation is set forth by John Herman Randall, jr., and George Haines, IV, "Controlling Assumptions in the Practice of American Historians," in *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography* (Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 54, New York, 1946), pp. 23-52.

subject could help students bring their own opinions up to date by exposing the vicissitudes of past beliefs.<sup>19</sup> Yet the early instrumentalist historians added very little to the knowledge of American thought for a number of years. Not until 1922, when Carl Becker's analysis of the Declaration of Independence<sup>20</sup> appeared, did this school make its first important contribution. Until then, explorations of American social and economic history absorbed the efforts of dissenters from tradition.

In the end, such studies proved an essential preliminary to ventures into the realm of ideas. The movement into social and economic fields was already under way in the late nineteenth century, and in practice exponents of the "new history" could join it more easily than they could transcend it. Their own program—reinforced by Karl Lamprecht's *Kulturgeschichte*—called for consideration of the whole range of human experience; in the circumstances, this indiscriminate enthusiasm overshadowed any special case for the study of ideas. Meanwhile, Frederick Jackson Turner and Charles A. Beard, both of whom shared much of the new outlook, were demonstrating how exciting investigations of social or economic life could be. Since social-economic history was paying large dividends, intellectual studies remained in abeyance. Furthermore, intellectual history presented a crucial difficulty to professional historians because few of them had the skills necessary to deal with it. Even the most heretical lay under the influence of a "scientific" training which bent them toward concrete facts and taught them very little about handling opinions or values.

Among some of the disciplines in the compartmentalized world of American scholarship, a rigorously critical method exercised a lighter sway than in the historical guild. In departments of philosophy and literature, judgments of values were inescapable responsibilities and could resist more stubbornly the prestige of the naked fact. As a result, while historians still hesitated on the periphery of American intellectual history, a few literary and philosophical scholars plunged deeply into it. In doing so, they capitalized on the potentialities latent in the "new history" and inclined toward a similarly liberal, pragmatic outlook.

For these and other reasons, the first distinguished, scholarly survey of the American mind came from a professor of English. In 1913, when Vernon L. Parrington began his chronicle of American thought, literary studies still confined themselves essentially to moralizing, idealizing, and criticizing.

<sup>19</sup> Luther V. Hendricks, *James Harvey Robinson: Teacher of History* (New York, 1946), p. 15; Robinson, *The New History*, pp. 130–31.

<sup>20</sup> *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas* (New York, 1922).

Among the factors which moved the rebellious westerner to a larger effort, the stimulus of the new school of historians was crucial. He admired Turner, knew something of Dewey's doctrine, drew heavily on the historical and political views of his friend, J. Allen Smith, and had immense enthusiasm for Beard's early work, which he regarded as the intellectual capstone of the Progressive movement. Accordingly, Parrington set about to apply their interpretive insights in tracing the genesis and development of major American ideologies. In characterizing his own generation, he described himself exactly: "So in the spirit of the Enlightenment the current liberalism dedicated itself to history and sociology, accepting as its immediate and particular business a reexamination of the American past in order to forecast an ampler democratic future."<sup>21</sup>

His achievement, published in two volumes in 1927 and a posthumous third in 1930, had the proportions and the passion of an epic. In essence, he unrolled a panorama of the growth of a democratic liberalism—how its various seeds came from Europe, how it fought free from Puritan autocracy, how it flourished under agrarian auspices, how romantic optimism invigorated its struggles with an exploitative capitalist philosophy, and how it faced the combined challenge of industrialism and mechanistic pessimism. Truly, it seemed that the social conflicts to which historians had recently pointed had equally vital intellectual counterparts.

After the critics' first elated acclaim for Parrington's performance, his successors perceived more and more deficiencies in his work. Today the book appears as a noble ruin on the landscape of our scholarship. Its essential grandeur and some of its wonderful intellectual portraits still challenge comparison, even though much of it has become obsolete. Driven by a fighting faith in agrarian democracy, Parrington at times miscast his heroes and made villains of men who deserved fairer understanding. The splendor of his rhetoric often concealed a looseness of meaning, and a few of his boldest generalizations have proved the most mistaken.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*, 3 vols. (New York, 1927–30), I, iii, III, xx, 401–11. (The personal overtones of the last passage are revealing.) Like most earlier intellectual historians in the United States, Parrington derived methodological guidance from European scholarship, in his case from Hippolyte Taine. *Ibid.*, III, vii. For discussions of earlier literary scholarship, see Howard Mumford Jones, *The Theory of American Literature* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1948), and Norman Foerster, ed., *The Reinterpretation of American Literature* (New York, 1928).

<sup>22</sup> William T. Utter, "Vernon Louis Parrington," in William T. Hutchinson, ed., *The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography* (Chicago, 1937), pp. 399–408; Alfred Kazin, *On Native Grounds: An Interpretation of Modern American Prose Literature* (New York, 1942), pp. 154–64; Richard Hofstadter, "Parrington and the Jeffersonian Tradition," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, II (October, 1941), 391–400; Yvor Winters, "On the Possibility of a Cooperative History of American Literature," *American Literature*, XII (November, 1940), 297–305.

Along with the limitations of his own enthusiasms, Parrington also betrayed the limitations of his background as a student of literature. While his colleagues in the English departments were censuring him for aesthetic insensitivity, others more properly noticed that Parrington's themes and materials did not fulfill his intention of surveying the main currents in American thought. He showed slight interest or competence in metaphysics and theology; he scarcely touched scientific thought and development, or the rise of the social sciences; he ignored legal thought, intellectual institutions, and the nonliterary arts. In fact, the book was basically a study of certain political and economic ideas as revealed in writings which Parrington deemed to be literature. Although his sources included many public documents and polemics, the emphasis still lay on imaginative letters. The wonder was that he cut as broad a swath as he did, but in the end he remained a captive of his own academic discipline.

Parrington was unique but not alone. Others outside of the historical guild were responding to the thrust of the "new history" in a similar way. In 1927 another literary scholar, Howard Mumford Jones, published a study of the reception of French culture in the United States, emphasizing the total historical milieu in which French influences operated.<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, Herbert Schneider, one of John Dewey's students, tackled American philosophical history as a seriously historical enterprise. At the end of the decade, Schneider produced a study of the rise and fall of Puritanism—a somewhat thin analysis but one which tried to capture the general intellectual temper revealed in a cross-section of sermon literature and which took some account of social and economic factors.<sup>24</sup>

In all of this activity, the instrumentalist approach to ideas showed its suggestiveness and fertility. And behind at least some of these new gropings lay another factor—a rediscovery of American cultural consciousness. The 1920's were bringing forth literature, philosophy, music, and painting of remarkable vitality and originality; this current cultural efflorescence directed attention to past cultural resources. At the same time, the widespread disparagement of America's "Puritan," "genteel," and "Victorian" ways sharpened the issues confronting students of the nation's cultural heritage.

<sup>23</sup> *America and French Culture, 1750-1848* (Chapel Hill, 1927). In disparaging the influence of French political and philosophical thought on the United States, Jones weakened one of Parrington's most important generalizations. For a pioneering exploration of a popular conception, see Francis Pendleton Gaines, *The Southern Plantation: A Study in the Development and Accuracy of a Tradition* (New York, 1924). Names and titles cited here and later are, of course, only illustrative.

<sup>24</sup> Herbert W. Schneider, *The Puritan Mind* (New York, 1930); Schneider to author, June 8, 1949. Parrington was an added inspiration to Schneider, who regards his own work as supplementing the former in the fields of metaphysics and theology.



From such contemporary ferments, a growing company of scholars received a more confident pride and a more insistent questioning of American intellectual traditions.<sup>25</sup> In effect, cultural nationalism co-operated with instrumentalism in opening up the history of ideas. Since these influences played across departmental lines, the study of American thought was beginning to prosper through beneficent interaction between the three disciplines chiefly concerned. As students of history, literature, and philosophy cut loose in maverick-fashion from accustomed environs, they gave each other the cues which have led them all toward an uncharted domain.

But to judge from the reviews in its academic journals, the historical profession as a whole was dead to these new developments in the 1920's. Parrington was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in history for 1927, but among all publications devoted exclusively to history, only the obscure historical organ of his own state ever reviewed one of his volumes. As late as 1934, a bibliography prepared by the American Historical Association defined history to mean simply political, constitutional, legal, and economic history.<sup>26</sup> Even social historians, for the most part, shared the general inertia induced by an inclination toward tangible particulars and a lack of training in theoretical analysis. By and large, they preferred to remain on safe and accustomed ground, studying the outward facts of social activities without investigating directly the movements of thought and feeling which lay behind them. Nevertheless, in the late twenties the exponents of the "new history" were moving cautiously to fulfill its claims. Like Eggleston thirty years before, a few social historians were finding that answers to problems inherent in their own field of interest led them into the realm of ideas. Phases of social life, when looked at closely, turned out to have intellectual aspects as well, and the understanding of one remained incomplete without comprehension of the other. How, for example, could one assess properly the functions of schools and churches without knowing the intellectual level which they had reached at a given time and place, or how they expressed prevailing knowledge and opinion? Indeed, how could the fortunes of any social group or movement or period become truly meaningful without an appreciation of its characteristic aspira-

<sup>25</sup> It is noteworthy that Parrington could define his task as one of tracing "a body of ideals that we reckon definitively American." *Main Currents*, I, iii. For a vivid, popular example of the cultivation of intellectual history in the interest of a contemporary national reawakening, see Lewis Mumford, *The Golden Day: A Study in American Experience and Culture* (New York, 1926). The force of cultural nationalism in impelling a young, beginning scholar toward intellectual history is evident in Merle Curti, "Literature in the Synthetic Study of History," *Historical Outlook*, XIII (April, 1922), 129. See also Henry Seidel Canby, *American Memoir* (Boston, 1947), pp. 261, 320-21.

<sup>26</sup> "List of Research Projects in History Exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations, Now in Progress in the United States and the Dominion of Canada," *American Historical Review*, XXXIX, supplement (April, 1934), 3.

tions and attitudes? In facing these questions, a handful of social historians was letting intellectual history in through the back door. In some such way, the new subject acquired—in addition to methodological and patriotic stimuli—a further impetus from the development of an established professional task.

One of the early leaders in this respect (as in many others) was Charles A. Beard. He had long been associated with Robinson as a friend and collaborator; now in 1927 he joined with Mary Beard to publish *The Rise of American Civilization*, based on the principles of *Kulturgeschichte*. Here, into a general survey of United States history, leading strands of intellectual development were woven effectively for the first time. Within a general framework of class conflict, the Beards allowed wide scope for a variety of other causes as they surveyed evolving patterns of educational, scientific, artistic, and speculative activity. It was exciting, because so huge a canvas could be full of hard material circumstances yet still display the historical vitality of the Beards' own values—science, secularism, social democracy, faith in progress. Material history, however, limited the depth of their inquiries as literary history limited the breadth of Parrington's. The Beards' chapters on intellectuals dealt more with their doings and writings than with their thinking. Significantly, the only social philosophy which received extended and systematic treatment was the idea of progress.

The same year witnessed a triumph less dazzling but perhaps as significant with the issuance of the first four volumes of *A History of American Life*, under the general editorship of Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox. These two men—both former students of Robinson at Columbia—stood among the vanguard of the social historians who were beginning to probe into intellectual problems. Both had already achieved distinction in their field, and both were to remain primarily social historians. But Schlesinger, who had been very strongly influenced by Turner and Beard, was working into new terrain as he meditated such matters as the play of social forces on literary trends, the late nineteenth century crisis in religion, and the popular attitudes incorporated in many of the country's changing folkways.<sup>27</sup> Fox was starting to interest himself in the history of professional knowledge and specialization.<sup>28</sup> Like their own research, the thirteen-volume *History of*

<sup>27</sup> "American History and American Literary History," in Foerster, ed., *Reinterpretation of American Literature*, pp. 160–80; "A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875–1900," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXIV (1932), 523–47. Comparison of the topics treated in *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922) and in *Paths to the Present* (New York, 1949) indicates the broadening of Schlesinger's interests. For his debt to Turner and Beard, see the bibliographical notes in *New Viewpoints*.

<sup>28</sup> In 1926, at the first session of the American Historical Association devoted to intellectual history, he delivered a brilliant paper on the westward transit of civilization through four stages of cultural specialization. Dixon Ryan Fox, *Ideas in Motion* (New York, 1935), pp. 3–36.

*American Life* which Schlesinger and Fox edited was principally social history, but it did include some account of intellectual trends. Sandwiched between chapters on working and living conditions, manners, and group conduct, were discussions of education, religion, and scientific and aesthetic achievements. This project codified the nation's social history, but its contribution to intellectual studies was less impressive. On the whole, the series treated cultural activities in separate compartments with scant relation to the rest of the story. Its general approach was descriptive, cataloguing surface phenomena.

These pioneering efforts completed the preliminary phase of the study of American intellectual history. By 1927 the foundations for a more widespread research interest in the field were firmly laid: a pragmatic theory which made thinking functionally significant in history; a cultural pride which made it seem intrinsically significant; a logical extension of the horizons of social history; and an interdisciplinary orientation which enabled a few outstanding leaders to demonstrate these principles in creative scholarship. Consequently, the years between 1927 and 1940 saw the appearance of a promising body of monographic studies and a modest campaign of encouragement. Syntheses more comprehensive than Parrington's or more trenchant than the *History of American Life* did not materialize. But at least the subject was acquiring scholarly solidity in some areas and a certain stature of its own. An important spur to research activity came from the establishment of publishing outlets hospitable to scholarly studies in American intellectual history. The *New England Quarterly*, launched in 1928; *American Literature*, following soon after; the *Columbia Studies in American Culture*, inaugurated in the mid-thirties; and, finally, the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, appearing at the end of the decade—each of these multiplied the opportunities for publication and recognition. All except the second of them cut squarely across departmental lines.<sup>29</sup> Meanwhile, in professional conferences during the 1930's, a minority of historians was agitating for more research in fresh areas of social and intellectual history. By 1939 the American Historical Association's annual convention was deliberating over the problems involved in a "cultural approach" to history. The old guard scoffed politely, but the movement was making headway.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> However, the *Journal of the History of Ideas* had chiefly philosophical and literary auspices and gave only a small share of its space to the United States. In 1944 the *William and Mary Quarterly* became another new outlet by broadening its scope to take in the whole of early American history and culture. In 1949, the *American Quarterly* entered the field.

<sup>30</sup> Committee of the American Historical Association on the Planning of Research, *Historical Scholarship in America: Needs and Opportunities* (New York, 1932), pp. 14, 93-95, 112; Caroline F. Ware, ed., *The Cultural Approach to History* (New York, 1940).

Outside the historical fraternity, the custodians of our literature produced the largest quantity of useful research. Their busy activity was part of the tremendous advance which the study of American literature was making in many directions, and this in turn reflected the exciting literary renaissance of the postwar years. Although literary criticism remained prominent among the occupations of English departments, the integration of literature with history proved one of the most rewarding ventures. This inevitably meant a growing interest in the political and social pressures which literature has reflected and in the ideas and attitudes which it has expressed. For some literary scholars these developments resulted in a more or less complete shift from the field of polite letters to cultivation of a broader intellectual history. Howard Mumford Jones continued to exercise leadership, especially in a provocative discussion of the spread of nineteenth century European ideas in the United States. Louis B. Wright described sympathetically the intellectual qualities of the aristocracy in seventeenth century Virginia, emphasizing its Elizabethan heritage. Constance Rourke, seeking the springs of a native aesthetic tradition, thoughtfully but inconclusively evaluated popular attitudes revealed in folk-art and folklore.<sup>31</sup> In doing so, she illustrated a newly sophisticated interest in folklore as a historical source.

Students of philosophy were less active in American intellectual history and accordingly less adventurous in their research, although Ralph Barton Perry produced a great biography of William James and a number of Schneider's students did competent monographs on various topics.<sup>32</sup> The relative meagerness of philosophical scholarship was striking in view of the invigoration which European intellectual history was receiving from Arthur O. Lovejoy. As units of analysis, Lovejoy and his many followers singled out the basic, individuated assumptions which appear variously and pervasively in many guises, doctrines, and disciplines.<sup>33</sup> In tracing these presuppositions through changing formulations, Lovejoy showed a respect for the power of rational, philosophical thinking in history which few scholars in the American field shared; but he also displayed a method and a power of logical

<sup>31</sup> Jones's study, presented before the American Historical Association in 1934, appears in his *Ideas in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1944); Louis B. Wright, *The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class* (San Marino, Calif., 1940); Constance Rourke, *American Humor: A Study of the National Character* (New York, 1931), and *The Roots of American Culture and Other Essays* (New York, 1942). It is significant that one prominent literary scholar, Dixon Wecter, eventually moved all the way from literary to social history and from an English department to a history department.

<sup>32</sup> *The Thought and Character of William James*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1935); Joseph Haroutunian, *Piety Versus Moralism: The Passing of the New England Theology* (New York, 1932).

<sup>33</sup> Arthur O. Lovejoy, *Great Chain of Being*, and *Essays in the History of Ideas* (Baltimore, 1948). See also the several discussions of Lovejoy in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IX (October, 1948), 403-46.

discrimination which they ignored at their own cost. One direct application of his methodology to United States history did come from a political scientist, Albert K. Weinberg, in a thick book on nationalist expansionism. Yet by and large the political science departments in the universities, like the philosophy departments, contributed rather little to knowledge of the country's intellectual development. As a consequence, the history of political thought in the United States still remains in a primitive condition.<sup>34</sup>

Among professional historians in the late twenties and thirties, a small but growing number proved their claims to competence and interest in intellectual studies. Their work remained peripheral to the bulk of historical writing, but their application of care and precision to the scrutiny of men's thoughts was giving intellectual history a certain respectability in a notably sober, conservative craft. Far from declaring independence from social history, they assumed the interdependence of social and intellectual life; but they demonstrated that one deserved systematic, historical inquiry fully as much as the other.

A few of the older, established historians were turning to the new field. For example, Samuel Eliot Morison, aroused by the intelligentsia's abuse of "Puritanism," published a notable series of volumes during the 1930's on the intellectual qualities of seventeenth century New England.<sup>35</sup> Yet most of the pioneering in the history of American thought was done by a younger generation just emerging from the graduate schools. Merle Curti, one of Turner's last students, was exploiting many areas in the nineteenth century. Gilbert Barnes taught us to understand the abolitionists in terms of the peculiar evangelical ferment of the Midwest. Richard Shryock took the lead in bringing American scientific developments into a social and intellectual framework. The seminars of social historians at Columbia and Chicago produced young men and women who wrote books on such topics as the growth of cultural contacts between the thirteen colonies, the history of deism, and the natural rights philosophy of the New England clergy.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Baltimore, 1935). Among other studies by political scientists are Benjamin F. Wright, *American Interpretations of Natural Law* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), and Charles M. Wiltse, *The Jeffersonian Tradition in American Democracy* (Chapel Hill, 1935). For economists note Edgar A. J. Johnson, *American Economic Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1932), and Joseph Dorfman, *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (New York, 1934). Sociologists' contributions include Charles Hunt Page, *Class and American Sociology: From Ward to Ross* (New York, 1940).

<sup>35</sup> *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930); *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1936); *The Puritan Pronaos: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New England in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1936). Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker was another mature historian whose interests shifted in these years.

<sup>36</sup> Curti's most important studies in this period were *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York, 1935); *Peace or War: The American Struggle, 1636-1936* (New York, 1936); "The



Cumulatively, the most impressive contribution probably came from the students of Arthur M. Schlesinger, who was turning out a sizable share of the best Ph.D.'s in United States history. Studies of the social and intellectual life of colonial towns, of anti-Catholicism, and of the reception of Darwinism—all these and others owed something to Schlesinger's guidance. One of his students, Paul Buck, won a Pulitzer Prize with a dissertation on the cultural reconciliation between North and South.<sup>37</sup>

In the years since 1940 the output of research on American intellectual history has increased perceptibly, at least in departments of history and literature. Among historians, the invasion of the field of intellectual history brought sufficient distinction to be regarded by Thomas Cochran as the profession's outstanding achievement of the last decade.<sup>38</sup> Although the specialized literature appearing in the 1940's seemed to differ from earlier efforts more in quantity than in general orientation, some advances in the pattern of research appeared. A few historians were making a more successful effort than ever before to fathom the ideas and attitudes of the humbler, less articulate groups in society. In this respect, the volumes on immigrants by Marcus Hansen, Theodore C. Blegen, and Oscar Handlin had special merit.<sup>39</sup> Another group of historians, impressed by America's expanding role in world affairs, joined the few literary scholars who were already studying American influences on other countries.<sup>40</sup> Also, the rise of intellectual history was having a fertilizing effect on the study of political history, for political conflicts appeared in richer perspective when viewed in conjunction with the emotional temper or intellectual traditions which they expressed. Progress here was

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Great Mr. Locke: America's Philosopher, 1783-1861," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, no. 11 (April, 1937), pp. 107-51. Gilbert Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933); Richard H. Shryock, "Public Relations of the Medical Profession in Great Britain and the United States: 1600-1870," *Annals of Medical History*, II (May, 1930), 308-39; Michael Kraus, *Intercolonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the American Revolution* (New York, 1928); Herbert M. Morais, *Deism in Eighteenth Century America* (New York, 1934); Alice M. Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (Durham, 1928).

<sup>37</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1744* (New York, 1939); Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York, 1938); Bert J. Loewenberg, "The Reaction of American Scientists to Darwinism," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII (July, 1933), 687-701, and subsequent articles; Paul H. Buck, *The Road to Reunion* (Boston, 1937).

<sup>38</sup> Thomas C. Cochran, "A Decade of American Histories," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXIII (April, 1949), 143-66.

<sup>39</sup> Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), and *The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941); Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America: The American Transition* (Northfield, Minn., 1940), and *Grass Roots History* (Minneapolis, 1947); Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants 1790-1865: A Study in Acculturation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941). George M. Stephenson, *The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration: A Study of Immigrant Churches* (Minneapolis, 1932), was a distinguished forerunner of these studies.

<sup>40</sup> Richard H. Heindel, ed., *American Influences Abroad: An Exploration* (New York, 1950).

clearly discernible in the late 1930's, and in the forties it yielded provocative re-evaluations of the Jacksonian period and of the origins of the Civil War.<sup>41</sup>

Notable though these recent advances in research interests have been, the last decade has brought forth a series of achievements cast on a much larger scale. The most impressive gain in late years has come from efforts to grasp and interpret either all or large areas of the intellectual history of the United States. At last, after a dozen or more years of relatively specialized investigations, scholars turned again to synthesis, drawing on the accumulated research of diverse branches of learning. Each author showed an orientation inherent in his own discipline, but all of them at least indicated that intellectual historians were coming closer to common ground. Most of these syntheses also made important original contributions. As a group, they proved that a new generation of scholars, born academically in the 1920's, had reached maturity.

The opening of this new period in our historiography may be dated from the publication late in 1939 of Perry Miller's *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*, the first volume of a projected intellectual history of New England to extend through the early nineteenth century. This powerful analysis organized the original system of Puritan thought in its many aspects into a tight and comprehensive web of meaning. For the first time, it gave Puritanism a precise locus within the intellectual traditions of western Europe; it dealt less adequately with the local environment of the New World.

In subsequent years, some historical students have appraised particular departments of American thought, yet they have written in a spirit so ranging as to defy arbitrary divisions. Joseph Dorfman devoted three laborious volumes to the history of economic thought from 1606 to 1918. He not only covered a neglected area in great detail but also contributed to knowledge of social thought as well. Herbert W. Schneider produced a history of American philosophy on an entirely new scale, comprehending political, social, and psychological theories as well as cosmic ones. While Schneider struggled singlehandedly with the new dimensions of philosophy, literary scholars undertook a co-operative retelling of their share of the nation's past. Fifty-five professors and critics collaborated on the three-volume *Literary History of the United States*.<sup>42</sup> Throughout, they tried with partial success to relate

<sup>41</sup> Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898* (Baltimore, 1936); Dwight L. Dumond, *Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, 1939); Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1942); Roy Nichols, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (New York, 1948); Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945). See also Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1948).

<sup>42</sup> Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization* (I, II: 1606-1865; III:

literature to its historical background. Significantly, the most useful and original chapters were not those which weighed literary reputations but rather the intervening essays on aspects of intellectual history.

Meanwhile, other scholars have tried to extricate a unique, indigenous tradition from part of our intellectual heritage. These ventures—like the American Studies curriculums which were appearing during the same years—indicated that a deepening search for patriotic values was contributing more than ever to the lure of intellectual history: it served to clarify and affirm a strengthened nationalism in the face of the world's insecurities. Ralph Barton Perry, stirred by the ideological issues of two world wars, argued that the beliefs of the Puritans and the democratic ideals of the Enlightenment have jointly propagated a distinctive, national tradition. Charles A. Beard, fearing the threat of war to American values and concerned increasingly with the problem of values in historical writing, put new emphasis on the formative influence of ideas. In 1942, the Beards shifted completely to the history of ideas and added to the *Rise of American Civilization* a volume which celebrated something called "the idea of civilization" as the key to the national genius.<sup>43</sup> Thus war encouraged interventionist and isolationist alike to consult the history of American thought.

Probably the most perceptive of these attempts to identify the central intellectual tradition of the United States came from Ralph H. Gabriel in 1940 with his volume, *The Course of American Democratic Thought*. Here too the upheavals of a disordered world contributed to the search for an ordered past. The book achieved both more and less than its name indicated. It had little to say about democratic political theory. Instead, it analyzed the development of certain basic assumptions about society and the natural world—assumptions which are said to have formed a national democratic faith. Gabriel illustrated the operation of these assumptions under changing social conditions by means of an oddly assorted gallery of intellectual portraits. Actually, the book came closer to being a history of American thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than any previous account. Despite important structural weaknesses, it revealed the many insights which a man

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1865–1918; New York, 1946, 1949); Herbert W. Schneider, *A History of American Philosophy* (New York, 1946); Robert E. Spiller, *et al.*, eds., *Literary History of the United States*, 3 vols. (New York, 1948).

<sup>43</sup> Ralph Barton Perry, *Puritanism and Democracy* (New York, 1944), and *Characteristically American* (New York, 1949); Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The American Spirit: A Study of the Idea of Civilization in the United States* (New York, 1942). See also Max Savelle, *Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind* (New York, 1948), and—from an internationalist point of view—Filmer S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry concerning World Understanding* (New York, 1946).

with a broad background of religious, scientific, and sociological interests might bring to intellectual history.<sup>44</sup>

Several more works which recently have surveyed the flow of ideas through large sections of United States history deserve mention,<sup>45</sup> but only one of them has an inclusive sweep—Merle Curti's *The Growth of American Thought*, the most comprehensive intellectual history yet written. Published in 1943, the book incorporated an immense body of knowledge within a coherent organization, subordinating the ideas of individuals to general patterns of thought and feeling. Complex and subtle, Curti's interpretive schemes had always a tentative air about them; but more than anyone else, perhaps, he employed the pragmatic, relativistic approach out of which modern American intellectual history had in large measure arisen. Through qualified, carefully balanced judgments on interactions between intellectual influences and social environment, he continually tried to explain ideas functionally. Thus, while Perry, Gabriel, and others have redefined traditional ideals in terms of continuing relevance, those like Curti have studied ideas more in the light of their instrumental role in solving problems and stating social conflicts. Both tendencies reveal the impetus given to intellectual history by the questioning and doubt which have attacked all our historic faiths and hallowed assumptions during the last three decades. In a time of ideological confusion and upheaval, intellectual history has served on the one hand to reformulate the traditions of the past and on the other to expose their operation to critical scrutiny.

In regard to methods of analysis and interpretation, a substantial number of the important books of the most recent period indicate a shift away from a directly pragmatic point of view. Scholars like Perry Miller seem chiefly concerned with estimating the force of ideas themselves. There are dangers in this enterprise—dangers of assuming the autonomy of ideas and losing oneself in abstractions. But professional historians at least, with their lively sense of the concrete, are more likely to make the opposite mistake of freezing a scheme of thought within the mold of environment. No amount of probing can reveal the full texture and momentum of a state of mind if it is studied

<sup>44</sup> Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought: An Intellectual History since 1815* (New York, 1940). Gabriel had first planned to enter the ministry, switched to geology in college, came under the influence of William Graham Sumner, and entered graduate school in history. After a Ph.D. thesis in social history, he began turning toward intellectual history during the 1920's. Gabriel to author, May 23, 1949.

<sup>45</sup> Oscar Cargill, *Intellectual America: Ideas on the March* (New York, 1941); Henry Bamford Parkes, *The American Experience: An Interpretation of the History and Civilization of the American People* (New York, 1947); Lloyd Morris, *Postscript to Yesterday: America: The Last Fifty Years* (New York, 1947); Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the 1880's* (New Haven, 1950). Since this was written Harvey Wish has published *Society and Thought in Early America* (New York, 1950).

in only a single social group or episode. If intellectual history is to develop a more firm and viable form of its own, it must find better ways of examining the content of thought while still testing its functional role. Henry Nash Smith has lately made a notable methodological advance in this direction by employing the anthropological-psychological constructs of symbol and myth to suggest in an admirably tempered way how conceptions about the West have affected American culture.<sup>46</sup>

Whatever the methods of the near future, the subject as a whole should profit most by their application to large-scale but nonetheless detailed studies. Further comprehensive syntheses at present can scarcely hope to make very striking contributions, and the specialized monographic literature is already very extensive. Before we can hope for a new kind of synthesis, investigators must explore more thoroughly the incidence and intensity of widespread, popular attitudes, each followed in its extensive ramifications through a span of time long enough to show significant transitions. The rise, decline, or modifications of such concepts as democracy, nationalism, individualism, class consciousness, race prejudice, anti-intellectualism, and fundamental beliefs about God and nature still challenge historical scholarship. Also, we need intensive period studies designed to establish the structure, duration, and the foundation of distinctive patterns of thought. Naturally, there are imposing difficulties. But given interpretive imagination, a thorough awareness of methods and techniques, and a defiance of the institutional pressures toward specialization, scholars may well hope for a deeper understanding of the "American mind."

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<sup>46</sup> *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950).

## *Pro Patria Mori* in Medieval Political Thought\*

ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ

CHRISTMAS, 1914. Belgium then was occupied by the German armies. Cardinal Mercier, the ultrapatriotic primate of Belgium and archbishop of Malines, was in many respects the champion of the intellectual resistance of his country against the occupying power. To comfort his flock and to encourage his fellow citizens the cardinal distributed on Christmas Day, 1914, his famous pastoral letter *Patriotism and Endurance*. In it he developed some challenging ideas about the relations between patriotism and religion, and about the otherworldly effects of death on the battlefield. "Who does not feel that patriotism is 'consecrated,' and that an attack on the national dignity is a sort of sacrilegious profanation?" The cardinal had been asked whether the soldier who fell in the service of a just cause ("and that ours clearly is") was a martyr. The Prince of the Church had to answer that, in a strict and theological sense, the soldier was not a martyr, because he died arms in hand, whereas the martyr gives himself up to his executioners without resistance.

But if you ask me what I think of the eternal salvation of a brave man, who consciously gives his life to defend the honor of his country and to avenge violated Justice, I do not hesitate to reply that there is no doubt whatever that Christ crowns military valor, and that death christianly accepted assures to the soldier the salvation of his soul. . . . The soldier who dies to save his brothers, to protect the hearths and the altars of his country, fulfills the highest form of love. . . . We are justified in hoping for them the immortal crown which encircles the foreheads of the elect. For such is the virtue of an act of perfect love that, of itself alone, it wipes out a whole life of sin. Of a sinner instantly it makes a saint.<sup>1</sup>

To this pastoral letter objections were raised immediately, and not only on the part of the German governor general, the cultured and educated

\*This paper, read at the joint luncheon of the American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch, and the American Philosophical Association, Pacific Division, on December 29, 1949, at Mills College, in Oakland, California, is published here with few minor changes and some additions. The intention of this address, which had to meet the fields of interest of both historians and philosophers, is clearly not to exhaust the subject but to outline with a few strokes the, in fact, much more complicated problem. I am greatly indebted to Professors Ludwig Edelstein and Leonardo Olschki for various valuable suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> The pastoral letter has been published often; see, e.g., *A Shepherd among Wolves: War-Time Letters of Cardinal Mercier*, selected by Arthur Boutwood (London, n.d.), pp. 46 f., whose translation I use here.



Baron von Bissing.<sup>2</sup> On March 25, 1915, Cardinal Billot, a patriotic Frenchman, severely censured the words used by his confrère in the Sacred College. "To say," he wrote, "that the mere fact of dying consciously for the just cause of the Fatherland 'suffices to assure salvation' means to substitute the Fatherland for God . . . , to forget what is God, what is sin, what is divine forgiveness."<sup>3</sup>

If two eminent princes of the church disagree so profoundly on a fundamental matter of life and death, and of life after death, we may be sure that the reasons for such a basic disagreement are to be sought in a distant past and that the whole problem has a long history. In fact, to the ears of the professional medievalist almost every word of Cardinal Mercier's pastoral letter has the familiar ring of a long-established tradition. And since the involved problem has both a historical and a philosophical background, it may be fitting to trace, if in a necessarily sketchy fashion, the early development of the idea *Pro patria mori* within the political concepts of the medieval Christian world.<sup>4</sup>

Every schoolboy reading his first Latin sentences would soon learn in what high esteem Greek and Roman antiquity held those who died in battle for their community, *polis* or *res publica*. The reasons were many and complex. There was, in earlier times, the religious fear of a return of the dead, later the religious desire to apotheosize the dead.<sup>5</sup> The quasi deification of war heroes was fully developed by the fifth century B.C. at the latest. We need only to think of Sparta. But we may think also of that broad alley on the Athenian Kerameikos, the Dromos, where on either side official tombs honored those who had died in battle for their city, and where Pericles delivered the funeral speech in which he placed the first victims of the Peloponnesian War among the immortals.<sup>6</sup> Or we may recall the lines of Vergil where Aeneas sees in the Elysian plains, dwelling together with priests and poets and prophets,

<sup>2</sup> For the German reaction, see D. J. Cardinal Mercier, *Cardinal Mercier's Own Story* (New York, 1920), pp. 45 ff. The correspondence between Cardinal Mercier and Baron von Bissing, or Baron von der Lancken, makes peculiarly interesting reading for the historian, for there is a striking contrast between the debasement and brutalization of style, language, and human standards which has taken place between the two world wars and the courteous form, the generally humane tone, and the occupying power's great patience which those letters disclose.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Billot's response is known to me only from the excerpts quoted by Franz Cumont, *Lux perpetua* (Paris, 1949), p. 449, who has called attention to the conflicting opinions of the two cardinals.

<sup>4</sup> I do not find that the problem, though deserving a monographic study, has been discussed before. Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935), touches upon related ideas and adduces relevant material.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., Cumont, pp. 332 ff.

<sup>6</sup> George Karo, *An Attic Cemetery: Excavations in the Kerameikos at Athens* (Philadelphia, 1943), pp. 24 f.

those who had suffered for the fatherland (*ob patriam pugnando volnera passi*), and who, as the true predecessors of the crowned martyrs and confessors of the church, had "their brows bound with snowy fillets," the insignia of agonal victory like the crown with which the fillet so often was combined.<sup>7</sup> And we need only to mention the name of Cicero or that of Horace, whose second "Roman Ode" (III, 2) is alluded to in the title of the present paper, in order to conjure up that huge compound of ethical values which in Rome were inseparable from the death *pro patria* and which later were revived by Petrarch and the early humanists, with their new standards of civic virtues and merits.

In Greek as well as in Roman antiquity, the term *πατρίς* or *patria* referred chiefly, if not exclusively, to the city. Only barbarians were named, like modern nationals, after their country, and only barbarians were *patriōtai*, whereas the Greeks were proud of being *politai*, citizens. The city, of course, would include the surroundings, which might even be expanded, as sometimes in Roman poetry, to the whole of the Italian peninsula. To the Stoics, it is true, and to the other philosophical schools as well, the notion of *patria* may have meant the universe, the *kosmos* of which they were citizens. But then this was a philosophical or religious, and not a political, conception. For the Roman Empire or the *orbis Romanus* would not have been referred to as *patria*, and if a soldier, when killed in the defense of Gaul or Spain or Syria, died nevertheless a hero's death *pro patria*, it was a death for the *res publica Romana*, for Rome and all Rome stood for—her gods, perhaps the *Dea Roma*, the imperial *pater patriae*, or Roman education and life in general—but not for the territory he happened to defend.<sup>8</sup> *Patria*, most certainly, did not mean the same thing at all times, but usually meant the city.

Although Greek and Roman antiquity had made heroes of and almost deified the victims of war, and although the ancient model otherwise determined medieval thought in more than one respect, the Western mind in the feudal age was reluctant or failed to accept those views. Civic death *pro*

<sup>7</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid*, VI, 660 ff.; for the fillets, see Eduard Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 293; for the connection of fillet and crown (surviving in the bows adorning our funerary wreaths), see Erwin R. Goodenough, "The Crown of Victory in Judaism," *Art Bulletin*, XXVIII (1946), 139 ff., especially p. 150, and for the connection with the diadem, Andreas Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *Römische Mitteilungen*, I (1935), 146; cf. Richard Delbrück, "Der spätantike Kaiserornat," *Antike*, VIII (1932), 7 f.

<sup>8</sup> The *orbis Romanus* (see, in general, Joseph Vogt, *Orbis Romanus*, Tübingen, 1929) was both linked to and set over against the *urbs*; see, e.g., the legend *vota orbis et urbis* on coins of Constantine and Licinius, which has survived in the papal blessing *urbi et orbi*. But the *orbis Romanus*, except in a philosophical sense and when coinciding with *oikoumene*, would not have been *patria* despite the lines (Rutilius Namatianus, *De reditu suo*, I, 63 and 66):

*Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam . . .  
Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat.*

*patria*, whatever "*patria*" then may have designated, had lost its religious flavor and semireligious connotations. Christianity was certainly one factor causing that change. With regard to the Christians, "every place abroad is their fatherland, and in their fatherland they are aliens," says the writer of the "Letter to Diognet."<sup>9</sup> The ties fettering man to his *patria* on earth, already slackening in the Late Empire, had lost their value. "Why should that man be praised?" asks Saint Augustine. "Because he was a lover of his city? This he could be carnally. . . . But he was not a lover of the City above."<sup>10</sup> And in the *City of God* (especially V, 18) Augustine assembles scores of examples to show that, if the Romans did their great deeds for human glory and an earthly city, it should be far easier for Christians to do similar things for the love of the *patria aeterna*. How much easier for a Christian to offer himself up for the eternal fatherland if a Curtius, leaping into the chasm, made the supreme sacrifice to obey the false gods! The Christian, according to the teaching of the Fathers, had become the citizen of a city in another world. Ethically, death for the carnal fatherland meant little if compared with that for the spiritual *patria*, Jerusalem in Heaven, or with the true models of civic self-sacrifice, the martyrs, confessors, and holy virgins. The saints had given their lives for the invisible community in heaven and the celestial city, the true *patria* of their desires; and a final return to that fatherland in Heaven should be the normal desire of every Christian soul while wandering in exile on earth.

*Nostrum est interim  
mentem erigere  
Et totis patriam  
votis appetere  
Et ad Jerusalem  
a Babylonia  
Post longa regredi  
tandem exsilia*

sings Abelard,<sup>11</sup> who may stand here for thousands of others who have uttered the same idea. After all, in the exequies—not to mention many other places in the liturgies—the priest would entreat God that the holy angels be

<sup>9</sup> Quoted by Karl Ludwig Schmidt, *Die Polis in Kirche und Welt* (Rektorsprogramm der Universität Basel, 1939), p. 47, a book offering several clues to the present problem; see Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, II, 1173C.

<sup>10</sup> Augustine, *Contra Gaudentium*, I, 37, in Jacques P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XLIII, 729. The chief evidence is Book V of the *Civitas Dei*, especially V, 18, where the great deeds of individual Romans for their purely terrestrial *patria* are adduced to encourage even greater Christian deeds *pro aeterna patria*.

<sup>11</sup> Abelard, Hymn 29, "Sabbato ad Vesperas," in Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica*, XLVIII (1905), 163, No. 139. The stanza (4) is preceded by three stanzas describing the celestial city and the court of the King of Heaven.

ordered to receive the soul of the defunct and to conduct it *ad patriam Paradisi*. Heaven had become the common fatherland of the Christians, comparable to the κοινὴ πατρίς which in ancient times had designated the netherworld.<sup>12</sup>

If religiously and ethically the Christian idea of *patria* was well defined, the same cannot be said of the political meaning of *patria* during the centuries of Western feudalism. To be sure, the word itself existed and it was used time and again. But its meaning—much more closely related to antiquity than to modern times—was practically always “native town or village,” the home (*Heimat*) of a man. A knight going to war might make provisions for returning home safely (*sanus in patriam fuero regressus*), or a person might return to a town or county *ad visendam patriam parentesque*.<sup>13</sup> This, though most generally the meaning of *patria*, did not necessarily exclude a lingering of the broader and more exalted ancient notion of “fatherland” into Christian times. The monks of early Frankish monasteries, for example, might be held to pray *pro statu ecclesiae et salute regis vel patriae* or “for the eternal salvation and the happiness of king or fatherland”;<sup>14</sup> and even the title *pater patriae* might be occasionally applied to a medieval prince,<sup>15</sup> cases in which *patria* certainly meant more than just the native village. Those, however, were formalized phrases of ancient tradition, and they reflected

<sup>12</sup> See Plutarch, *Moralia*, 113C, ed. by William R. Paton and Hans Wegehaupt (Leipzig, 1925), I, 234, 2.

<sup>13</sup> The examples, chosen at random, could easily be multiplied *ad infinitum*. For those quoted, see *Formulae Sangallenses* in M.G.H., *Leges*, V, 401, 23, and 402, 17; M.G.H., *Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, V: *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, ed. by Erdmann and Fickermann, 369, 3, and *passim*. Even in much later times, and not only in Italy, would *patria* refer to the city. When Philip IV of France made a treaty with the bishop of Verdun, a bishopric then belonging to the empire, and demanded that the bishop “*per se et gentes suas tenetur patriam iuvare pro posse suo et defendere bona fide una cum gentibus nostris*,” the stipulation referred not to France as *patria* but to the city of Verdun; Fritz Kern, *Acta Imperii, Angliae et Franciae* (Tübingen, 1911), No. 155, pp. 103, 10. The plural *patriae*, e.g., in a document of Rudolf Habsburg mentioning *patriae et provinciae ad imperium spectantes* (see M.G.H., *Leges* IV, vol. III, No. 653, p. 654, 2), means cities; cf. Ausonius, *Ordo nobilium urbium*, XVII, 166 (Bordeaux): “*Haec patria est, patrias sed Roma supervenit omnes*.” Also in the letters of Rather of Verona (M.G.H., *Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, I, ed. by Fritz Weigle, pp. 49, 4, and *passim*) the word has a local meaning.

<sup>14</sup> The formula occurs so often in early Frankish documents, while disappearing later, that it must be of ancient origin and must go back to some *supplicatio*; see, e.g., *Formulae Marculfi*, in M.G.H., *Leges*, V, 40, 19, and 43, 2, or the Council of Compiègne, in 757, M.G.H., *Concilia*, II, 62, 13. On the other hand there should not be excluded a possible relation with the Visigothic formula *princeps vel gens aut patria* (see *Lex Visigothorum*, in M.G.H., *Legum Sectio I*, vol. I, index, s.v. “*patria*”), which comes closer to antique concepts of public law than the Frankish form, which is attenuated. In the Carolingian *Leges Saxonum*, for example, the meaning of *patria* is purely local (see M.G.H., *Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum*, pp. 24, 27, 46 ff.). For Visigothic Spain, see the recent study of Floyd Seyward Lear, “The Public Law of the Visigothic Code,” *Speculum*, XXVI (1951), 1–23, who stresses (p. 20, n. 42) the difficulty of reaching positive conclusions in view of terminology.

<sup>15</sup> Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1929), I, 80 f., II, 93.

medieval "patriotism" as little as the bookish reproductions from Vergil, Horace, and other classical authors in the works of medieval poets and writers.<sup>16</sup>

For all that, however, a warrior's heroic self-sacrifice did exist in the Middle Ages; only, the man would offer himself up for his lord and master (rather than for a territory or an idea of "state"), comparable to the martyr's death for *his* Lord and Master. The political sacrifice of a knight would have been personal and individual rather than "public," and it was that personal sacrifice resulting from the relations between lord and vassal, or from the idea of personal fealty, which medieval literature has so abundantly praised and often glorified. A vassal would follow the duke of Champagne or defend the count of Burgundy against aggression. But it would be the "duke" or the "count," and not some "eternal Burgundy" or an "idea of Champagne" for which it would have been worth while to shed one's blood, even though the ancient personifications of provinces survived in medieval imagery.<sup>17</sup> At any event, *patria* had lost the emotional content which had characterized it in antiquity, while on the other hand *patria* was as yet far from coinciding with a national territory or a territorial state as in modern times.

Like other great changes in history leading to modern civilization a change in the concept of *patria* can be traced to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The transformation implied that indeed the classic emotional values of *patria* were recovered, as they descended, so to speak, from heaven back to earth; but it implied also that henceforth the notion of "fatherland" might well transcend the ancient city limitations and refer to a national kingdom, or to the "crown" as the visible symbol of a national territorial community.<sup>18</sup>

Within certain limited fields that development can be grasped almost statistically. Taxation, for instance, may be used as an example for illustrating the re-emergence of the notion of *patria*. The feudal aids which were due on three occasions—ransom for the feudal lord, knighting of his eldest son, dowry for his eldest daughter—were personal lordly taxes which had nothing whatsoever to do with the country, nation, or *patria* in either an ancient or

<sup>16</sup> The model of Horace, *Odes*, III, 2, is quite obvious, e.g., in Richer, *Historiae*, I, 8, ed. by Georg Waitz (Hanover, 1877), p. 77: "*decus pro patria mori egregiumque pro christianorum defensione mori dare*"; cf. Erdmann, *Kreuzzugsgedanke*, p. 22, n. 62, also for the parallelism of *patria* and *christianorum defensio*.

<sup>17</sup> It is quite sufficient to recall the famous throne-images of Otto III (Munich Gospels, Bamberg Josephus), or the Byzantine haloed city goddesses; see, for the latter, Kurt Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll* (Princeton, 1948), figs. 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, and, for the Aegyptus in Palermo, Ernst Kitzinger, "The Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *Art Bulletin*, XXXI (1949), 280, and fig. 8.

<sup>18</sup> In Italy, of course, *patria* was practically always the city or city-state, though with Dante and Petrarch the country of Italy, too, began to become *patria*. In a somewhat broader sense the terms *Latium* or *Ausonia* were used in antiquity; see also below, n. 27.

a modern sense. By the twelfth century, however, the fourth case of the later *aide aux quatre cas* (the German *Vierfallsbede*) made its appearance: a taxation *pro defensione regni*.<sup>19</sup> Professor Strayer, in a most stimulating little study, has pointed out that Louis VI of France, when facing an attack from across the Rhine (1124), went to St. Denis, took the Oriflamme from the altar, offered prayers *pro defensione regni*, and made grants to the abbey dedicated to St. Denis, the patron saint of France and the dynasty. That is to say, "for the defense of the realm" divine help was needed, and it was secured by *giving* to the church.<sup>20</sup> At the end of the thirteenth century, however, the proportions were definitely reversed. *Pro defensione regni* the king no longer gave; he took. He imposed a tax to meet the emergency of the realm, and *pro necessitate regni* he imposed the tax also on the church.<sup>21</sup>

It is well known to what extent the pattern of those taxes *pro defensione* or *pro necessitate regni* followed the pattern of the crusading taxes—tenths, fifteenths, twentieths—which were levied from the whole church, or parts of it, by the Holy See *pro defensione (necessitate) Terrae Sanctae*. For, the goal of the crusades has usually, and in early times always, been formulated in terms of a defensive war, a defense of the Christian brothers and churches in the Holy Land, and not as a war of aggression against the infidels.<sup>22</sup> Already the Norman kings of Sicily had begun to transfer the idea of a defensive war to their own realm and accordingly took taxes *pro defensione (necessitate) regni*.<sup>23</sup> In order to simplify here a rather complicated issue, and for the sake of brevity, we might say: What was good for the *regnum Christi regis*, Jerusalem and the Holy Land, was good for the *regnum regis Siciliae* or *Franciae*. If a special and extraordinary taxation was justifiable

<sup>19</sup> For the twelfth century, see the letter of Martin IV to Charles of Anjou (Nov. 26, 1283) after the Sicilian Vespers. The pope states that even before Frederick II, who is said to have introduced, after his return from the Holy Land, *subventiones et collectae ordinariae*, the Sicilian (Norman) kings had imposed, as an extraordinary tax, *collecte . . . pro defensione ipsius regni*; cf. *Les Registres du Pape Martin IV* (Paris, 1913), No. 488, p. 225; also *Les Registres du Pape Honorius IV* (Paris, 1886), No. 96, p. 75. Pope Martin seems to have investigated the matter rather thoroughly for he writes: "*de modo subventionum etc. nichil aliud potuit inveniri nisi quod antiquorum habet relatio.*" For Frederick II's *collectae*, see Ernst Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, Erg. Bd. (Berlin, 1931), p. 99.

<sup>20</sup> Joseph R. Strayer, "Defense of the Realm and Royal Power in France," *Studi in Onore di Gino Luzzatto* (Milan, 1949), pp. 289 ff.

<sup>21</sup> This, of course, was the whole issue of *Clericis laicos*. See also Strayer, *op. cit.*, p. 290, and *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> Erdmann, *Kreuzzugsgedanke*, p. 321; somewhat different was the Charter of Alfonso VII for the Confraternity of Belchite (1136) which was founded "*ad Christianorum defensionem et Sarracenorum oppressionem*," see Percy Ernst Schramm, "Das Kastilische Königtum und Kaisertum während der Reconquista," *Festschrift für Gerhard Ritter* (Tübingen, 1950), p. 111. In Spain the whole development was different in so far as crusading idea and national idea or patriotism coincided. Also crusaders' songs would show the idea of annihilation of the Moslems: "*Illuc debemus pergere Saracenos destruere.*" Dreves, *Anal. Hymn. XLVb* (1904), 78, No. 96, stanza 7.

<sup>23</sup> Above, n. 19.



in the case of an emergency in the kingdom of Jerusalem and for its defense, it seemed also justifiable (especially in the age of the purely secularized crusades, such as those against the Hohenstaufen and Aragonese) to meet the emergencies of the Sicilian kingdom or those of France in the same fashion. After all, "Emergency begins at home."

Once established, that tax did not disappear again; only the terminology used in levying it changed occasionally. The old argument *pro defensione* (*necessitate*) *regni*—sometimes amplified by the expression "for the defense of the king," the supreme feudal lord—remained valid throughout and has not disappeared even now in the twentieth century.<sup>24</sup> In addition, however, in the second half of the thirteenth century, and especially in France, we find a tax imposed *ad tuitionem patriae* or *ad defensionem patriae*.<sup>25</sup> And in 1302, after the French defeat at Courtrai, Philip IV or his officers asked subventions from the clergy "for the defense of the native fatherland which the venerable antiquity of our ancestors ordered to fight for, because they preferred the care for the fatherland even to the love for their descendents."<sup>26</sup> Here, then, that crucial word *patria* appears in a fairly modern sense, referring to a territorial national state and harking back to the model of ancient times. In other words, by the end of the thirteenth century the national monarchy of France was strong enough and sufficiently advanced to proclaim itself as *patria* and to impose taxes, including church taxes, *ad defensionem natalis patriae*.

But was it worth dying for that fatherland as the martyrs died for the *patria* in heaven? Perhaps we should draw a parallel between the "holy soil" of the *Terra Sancta* overseas and the "holy soil" of *la douce France*, the French fatherland. The emotional ring of names such as *Latium* or *Ausonia* in the verses of Ovid or Vergil—"ecce tibi Ausoniae tellus; hanc arripe velis" ("Lo, yours is Ausonia's soil; sail and seize it!")—or the strong emotion dwelling, for instance, in Pliny's praise of Italy—*Haec est Italia dis sacra*, a

<sup>24</sup> These questions have been studied in recent years most successfully by Gaines Post; see, above all, "Plena potestas and Consent in Medieval Assemblies," *Traditio*, I (1943), 371 ff., and "The Theory of Public Law and the State in the Thirteenth Century," *Seminar*, VI (1948), 42 ff., esp. 55 ff. See Strayer, *op. cit.*, p. 292; "*tam pro capite nostro, tam pro corona regni defendenda*"; and in general his paper "The Laicization of French and English Society in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum*, XV (1940), 76 ff., esp. 82 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Strayer, "Defense of the Realm," p. 292, n. 7, p. 294, n. 6.

<sup>26</sup> On August 29, 1302, Philip IV writes to the clergy of the bailiwick of Bourges: "*ad defensionem natalis patrie pro qua reverenda patrum antiquitas pugnare precepit, eius curam liberorum preferens caritati . . .*" Quoted by Paul de Lagarde, "La Philosophie sociale d'Henri de Gand et de Godefroid de Fontaines," *Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie*, 3<sup>me</sup> sér., fasc. 18 (1943), p. 88, n. 1. It is apparently that kind of phraseology which Strayer, "Laicization," p. 85, n. 2, alludes to; see also Jean Leclercq, *Jean de Paris et l'ecclésiologie du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1942), p. 18, n. 5, and in *Revue du moyen âge latin*, I (1945), 166, n. 6; Frantz Funck-Brentano, *Memoire sur la bataille de Courtrai* (Paris, 1891), p. 87, *passim*, and *Philip le Bel en Flandre* (Paris, 1897), p. 424.

land *numine deum electa*—all that had been recovered for France by the *Chanson de Roland* and the other *chansons de geste*.<sup>27</sup> The kingdom of France, *Francia*, whose very name suggested the fatherland of the free (*franci*), was the land of the new chosen people;<sup>28</sup> she too was, so to say, a *Francia Deo sacra*<sup>29</sup> for whose sacred soil it was worth while, and even sweet, to make the supreme sacrifice, while to defend and protect her would imply a quasi-religious value comparable to charity.

Actually the *defensio Terrae Sanctae* becomes directly relevant to that complex problem once we ask what was the reward for those fighting and perishing for the Holy Land.

The decrees of the Council of Clermont, in 1095, established the indulgences for the crusaders in a canonically perfectly correct and unimpeachable fashion. The second Canon of Clermont states quite unambiguously: "This expedition shall be considered an equivalent of all penitence" (*iter illud pro omni poenitentia reputetur*).<sup>30</sup> That is, all punishment which church discipline might have decreed against a penitent—fasts, alms, prayers, pilgrimages—should be forgotten and atoned for by the crusade. The crusading campaign itself was the atonement. It was a remission of those temporal punishments which the church had the power to impose—but not a remission of sins. This distinction, the neglect of which was so characteristic of Luther's contemporaries, was meaningless also to the contemporaries of the crusades. All our sources mention, strangely enough, not the remission of ecclesiastical punishment but the remission of sins, the *remissio peccatorum*, as the reward

<sup>27</sup> *Aeneid*, III, 477; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, III, 39 ff., 138. It seems strange that *Ausonia* and *Ausones* preserved its emotional power in Byzantium. In the poems, e.g., of Theodoros Prodromos (12th century), ed. by Angelo Mai, *Patrum nova Bibliotheca* (Rome, 1853), VI, 399 ff., Constantinople is called Αὐσονίων πόλις (X, 21), the emperor is ὁ τῶν Αὐσονίων ἥλιος (IV, 10) or Αὐσονίων αὐτοκράτωρ (X, 171); see also poems I, 65; II, 17; VI, 13; XIX, 53; XX, 13, as well as the poems of Manuel Holobolos (13th century), ed. by Jean François Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca* (Paris, 1833), V, 159 ff., e.g., II, 6 (p. 161); IV, 1 (p. 163); V, 16 (p. 165), etc. The Byzantine court tradition can be easily traced back to—it may even have been started by—Optatianus Porfirius, *Carmina*, XV (III), 10: "maxime Caesar/ Ausoniae decus o, lux pia Romulidum"; cf. X (XXI), 13; XVI (X), 38: "O lux Ausonidum"; VII (XXIII), 2: "magne/ Ausonidum ductor."

<sup>28</sup> Percy Ernst Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich* (Weimar, 1939), I, 137, 228, and *passim*, has collected some material; see also Helmuth Kämpf, *Pierre Dubois* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1935). For *Franci=liberi*, see, e.g., Alexander of Roes, *Memoriale*, c. 17, ed. by Herbert Grundmann and Hermann Heimpel, *Die Schriften des Alexander von Roes* (Deutsches Mittelalter: Kritische Studententexte der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, IV; Weimar, 1949), p. 38, 13, and *passim*; also Wilhelm Berges, *Die Fürstenspiegel des hohen und späten Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 76 f.; Leclercq, *Jean de Paris*, pp. 170 f., lines 103 ff.

<sup>29</sup> One example for many: Richier, *La vie de Saint-Remi*, ed. by W. N. Bolderston (London, 1912), line 61: "Molt fait dieus aperte monstrance/ D'especial amour a France"; or line 114: "A bien Dieus [en] France eslargie/ La grace dou Saint Esperite." For France as the "doux royaume de Jésus Christ," see Kämpf, p. 111. See also below, n. 41.

<sup>30</sup> Erdmann, *Kreuzzugsgedanke*, p. 316.

of the crusaders. Even Pope Urban II, although at Clermont the matter had been phrased correctly, was careless when claiming in his letters that the crusade effected a *remissio omnium peccatorum*. And this idea was generally current among clergy and laity alike.<sup>31</sup>

On the strength of this premise the death of a crusader in battle would easily appear as a new martyrdom. The crusader, certain of the remission of all his sins, was assured of his entry straight into Paradise and might expect, for his self-sacrifice in the service of Christ the King, the martyr's crown in the life hereafter. A crusader's song reflects this assumption quite clearly:

He that embarks to the Holy Land,  
He that dies in this campaign,  
Shall enter into heaven's bliss  
And with the saints there shall he dwell.<sup>32</sup>

This idea was still shared by Dante. His ancestor, Cacciaguida, was slain as a crusader in the Second Crusade. The poet, therefore, will meet his venerable forbear in the heaven of Mars where the champions of God and the martyrs have their place in the peace of Paradise. Cacciaguida himself explains: "*E venni dal martiro a questa pace.*"<sup>33</sup> This was not only the language of poets and of public opinion. Ivo of Chartres, the greatest canon lawyer around 1100, collected in his *Decretum* and in the *Panormia* a number of relevant passages, and reproduced, along with others, also a passage from a letter of Pope Nicholas I (858-867) in which the pope declared that any soldier killed in the defense of faith against pagans or infidels would be received as a citizen in the kingdom of heaven. "For if one of you should be killed, the Almighty knows that he died for the truth of faith, the salvation of the *patria*, and the defense of Christians; and therefore the soldier will attain the aforementioned reward."<sup>34</sup> The importance of this passage should be sought not only in the fact that Nicholas I could promise in good faith the celestial *patria* to those who died in the defense of faith or of the *patria* in this world,<sup>35</sup> but that Ivo of Chartres in his collections called back to memory a number of utterances

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 317.

<sup>32</sup> Dreves, *Anal. Hymn.*, XLVb, 78, No. 96; Erdmann, *Kreuzzugsgedanke*, p. 317:

*Illuc quicumque tenderit,  
Mortuus ibi fuerit,  
Caeli bona receperit,  
Et cum sanctis permanserit.*

<sup>33</sup> *Paradiso*, XV, 148.

<sup>34</sup> Ivo, *Decretum*, X, 87, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CLXI, 720; Erdmann, *Kreuzzugsgedanke*, p. 248.

<sup>35</sup> "*quisquis . . . in hoc belli certamine fideliter mortuus fuerit, regna illi coelestia minime negabuntur. Novit enim omnipotens, si quislibet vestrorum morietur, quod pro veritate fidei et salutatione patriae ac defensione Christianorum mortuus est, ideo ab eo praetitulatum praemium consequetur.*"

about *patria* which eventually were to form a good basis for later discussions.<sup>36</sup> In some respect the later theories are foreshadowed also in a letter of Urban II, who wrote: "None who shall be killed in this campaign for the love of God and his brothers shall doubt that he will find remission of his sins and the eternal beatitude according to the mercy of God."<sup>37</sup> Here the parallelism of "love of God and love of his brothers" is of some importance because it was the Christian virtue of *caritas* which finally was to work as a lever to justify ethically, or even to sanctify, war and death for the fatherland.

Two generations after Ivo and Urban, around 1170, the poet of the *Chanson de Roland* muses about the Frankish-French warriors of Charlemagne: "*Se vos murez, esterez seinz martirs*"—"And if you die, you shall be holy martyrs."<sup>38</sup> It is true, of course, that the warriors of Charlemagne supposedly were fighting the Saracens in Spain and therefore equaled crusaders. However, to the French people of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries those Frankish soldiers had become French soldiers while Charles himself figured as "emperor of France." Death *against* the Saracens therefore was at the same time death *for* the French emperor and French brothers and compatriots, a fact which gave the "martyrdom" of the slain also a national flavor. Priority, to be sure, was held by death for the supreme lord, divine or feudal. At a council at Limoges, in 1031, where the truce of God was discussed, a vassal of the duke of Gasconne was told: "For your lord you have to accept death . . . and for this loyalty you will become a martyr of God."<sup>39</sup> Here the crown of martyrdom descended upon those suffering death for their feudal lord. By the middle of the thirteenth century, however, the crusader idea of a holy war was all but completely secularized, and its place was taken by a quasi-holy war for the defense of the realm or of the nation symbolized by the "crown" of France. A poet of that age, Richier, glorifying Rheims and its first bishop, St. Remy, styled the crown of France the most precious of all relics and declared that those who were killed in protection of the crown should be saved in the life after death. Thus they were rendered equal to saints or martyrs. God himself, argues the poet,

<sup>36</sup> Ivo, *Decretum*, X, 93, 97, with places from another letter of Pope Nicholas I (*M.G.H., Epistolae*, VI, 585, 11 f.) and from Ambrose.

<sup>37</sup> Paul Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, I: *Katalanien* (Abhandlungen Göttingen, N. F. XVIII, 2; Berlin, 1926), p. 287 f., No. 23: "*In qua videlicet expeditione si quis pro Dei et fratrum suorum dilectione occuberit, peccatorum profecto suorum indulgentiam et eterne vite consortium in venturum se ex clementissima Dei nostri miseratione non dubitet.*"

<sup>38</sup> *Chanson de Roland*, line 1134; cf. Cumont, *Lux perpetua*, p. 445. Leonardo Olschki, *Der ideale Mittelpunkt Frankreichs* (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 14 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CXLII, 1400B: "*Debueras pro seniore tuo mortem suscipere, . . . et martyr Dei pro tali fide fieres.*" Cf. Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges* (Strasbourg, 1924), p. 244, n. 3.

sanctifying "the king, the crown, and the realm" in which the grace of the Holy Spirit had been multiplied, has sent from high heaven the holy balm of anointment *por la corone deffendre*.<sup>40</sup>

The voice of the poet was echoed by that of the priest. When Philip IV of France started his disastrous campaign against the craftsmen and peasants of Flanders—a war marking in so many respects the watershed between two ages—an unknown cleric delivered a sermon on the king's departure to war. He preached on I Maccabees, 3, 19–22, a passage which in any century would readily lend itself as a *locus classicus* for self-righteously interpreted warfare: "They march against us in the plenty of pride and lawlessness. . . . We, however, will fight for our souls and laws; and the Lord himself will crush them before our faces." To prove the just cause of the French, the preacher first exalted the saintly character at large of the *nobiles et sancti reges Francorum*. They are saints (1) for their love of purity to the effect that, whereas other princely races were stained, the blood royal of France has remained perfectly pure; (2) for their protection of holiness in view of the church; (3) for their spreading of holiness because they procreate holy kings (*cum generent sanctos reges*); (4) for their working of miracles by healing scrofula, the "king's evil"—arguments apparently representing the common opinion in the surroundings of Philip IV and very well known from the political tracts of Pierre Dubois. There follows of course that the cause of those royal saints is perforce the cause of Justice herself, whereas the Flemings are fighting for an unjust cause ("*cum autem nos bellemus pro iustitia, illi pro injustitia*"). The wicked Flemings are almost congratulated because through the king's war against them they have a chance to be, as it were, "liberated" from their injustice and conquered by the holy king of France rather than by evil. On the other hand, death on the battlefield for a just cause receives its reward. "Since the most noble kind of death is the agony for justice, there is no doubt but that those who die for the justice of the king and realm [of France] shall be crowned by God as martyrs." The "agony for justice," exemplified by Christ, is the price paid for the crown of martyrdom, and this "justice" is that of the king of France and his realm. The preacher, however, demands the sacrifice for the holy king for yet another reason. He demands it not on the grounds of the old feudal ties of lord and vassal but on the grounds of the new organological concept of the state. The king, said he, is the head, the subjects are the members of the body politic. Natural

<sup>40</sup> Richier, lines 46 ff., p. 40; Bloch, *loc. cit.* For the notion of "crown," see Fritz Hartung, "Die Krone als Symbol der monarchischen Herrschaft im ausgehenden Mittelalter," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie* (1940), No. 13 (Berlin, 1941), esp. for France pp. 19 ff. Further, see Richier, lines 61 f., 73 ff., 114 ff., pp. 41 ff.; and above, n. 29.

reason commands that all members be not only directed by the head and serving the head but also willing to expose themselves for the head. Moreover, the king's peace is the peace not only of the realm but also of the church, of learning, virtue, and justice, and it permits the concentration of forces for the acquisition of the Holy Land. "Therefore he who carries war against the king [of France], works against the whole church, against the Catholic doctrine, against holiness and justice, and against the Holy Land." Here the equation of "war for France" and "war for the Holy Land" has been carried through. We seem already to hear Joan of Arc saying: "Those who wage war against the holy realm of France, wage war against King Jesus."<sup>41</sup>

The preacher, by adducing the organological concept of state, has struck a new tone which demands consideration of yet another topic: the realm as *corpus mysticum*.

Whereas the concept of the church as the *corpus Christi* goes back to St. Paul (I Cor., 12, 12), the term *corpus mysticum* has no biblical tradition. In fact, it is far less ancient than might be expected. *Corpus mysticum* first appeared in Carolingian times, and it then referred not at all to the church, or to the oneness and unity of Christian society, but to the Eucharist. It designated the consecrated host, the mystical body of Christ.<sup>42</sup> This, with few exceptions, remained the official meaning of *corpus mysticum* until the middle of the twelfth century, that is, until well after the great dispute about transubstantiation which is connected with the name of Berengar of Tours. In response to Berengar's doctrine and that of heretical sectarians, who tended to spiritualize and mystify the Sacrament of the Altar, the church was compelled to stress most emphatically not a spiritual or mystical but the *real* presence of the human Christ in the Eucharist. The Sacrament now was

<sup>41</sup> The interesting document has been published by Dom Jean Leclercq, "Un sermon prononcé pendant la guerre de Flandre sous Philippe le Bel," *Revue du moyen âge latin*, I (1945), 165-72. For the general background, see Kämpf, *Pierre Dubois*, who publishes a similar sermon by Guillaume de Sauqueville (pp. 109-11). The maxim of the anonymous preacher (Leclercq, p. 172, lines 163 ff.), "*si ipsi volunt ab iniustitia vinci, orabimus ut a potestate et exercitu regio devincantur. Melius est enim eis a rege vinci quam a malo et in iniustitia perdurare*," indicates the theory according to which war is made *ex caritate*. This in fact was the current scholastic doctrine; see Harry Gmür, *Thomas von Aquino und der Krieg* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1933), pp. 7 f.; see also p. 46 for the theory that the king waging a just war acts "*ex zelo iustitiae, quasi ex auctoritate Dei*." In a similar fashion all the other theories of that remarkable sermon could be analyzed as reflections of contemporary thought. For the two quotations, see pp. 170, 87 ff. ("*cum enim nobilissimum moriendi genus sit agonizare pro iustitia, non dubium quin isti qui pro iustitia regis et regni moriuntur, a Deo ut martyres coronentur*") and pp. 170, 65 ff. ("*Igitur qui contra regem invehitur, laborat contra totam ecclesiam, contra doctrinam catholicam, contra sanctitatem [sc. regis] et iustitiam et Terram Sanctam*").

<sup>42</sup> The history of the term *corpus mysticum* has been settled, in a brilliant study, by Henri de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum* (Paris, 1944), also in *Recherches de science religieuse*, XXIX (1939), 257 ff., 429 ff., and XXX (1940), 40 ff., 191 ff.



termed significantly the *corpus verum* or *corpus naturale*, or simply the *corpus Christi*, the name under which also the feast of *Corpus Christi* was instituted in the Western Church, in 1264. That is to say, the Pauline term originally designating the Christian church, now began to designate the host, whereas the notion *corpus mysticum*, hitherto used to describe the host, was gradually transferred, after 1150, to the church as an organized body. It was finally through Pope Boniface VIII and the bull *Unam sanctam* that the doctrine of the church as "one mystical body the head of which is Christ" (*unum corpus mysticum cuius caput Christus*) was defined and dogmatized.

Now the term *corpus mysticum* as a designation of the church in its sociological and ecclesiological aspects was adopted in a critical moment of church history. After the investiture struggle there arose, for many reasons, the "danger of too much stress being laid on the institutional, corporational side of the Church" as a body politic.<sup>43</sup> It was the beginning of the so-called secularization of the medieval church, a process which was balanced by an all the more designedly mystical interpretation of the administrative body. The new term *corpus mysticum* linked the building of the visible church organism, it is true, with the former liturgical sphere; but, at the same time, it placed the church as a body politic or a political organism on one level with the secular bodies politic which by that time began to assert themselves as self-sufficient communities. Moreover, the terminological change coincided with that moment in the history of Western thought in which corporational and organological doctrines began to pervade political theories anew and to form decisively the political thinking of the high and late Middle Ages. It was then, for example, that John of Salisbury wrote those famous chapters of his *Policraticus* in which he compared the commonweal of the state with the organism of the human body.<sup>44</sup>

In addition to the organological concept of the spiritual and secular communities there was yet another set of corporational doctrines, deriving from,

<sup>43</sup> I follow here the stimulating article by Gerhart B. Ladner, "Aspects of Mediaeval Thought on Church and State," *Review of Politics*, IX (1947), 403 ff., esp. 414 f.

<sup>44</sup> *Policraticus*, V, c. 2, ed. by Clemens C. J. Webb, I, 282 ff. Most instructive for the origins of the organological concepts is Wilhelm Nestle, "Die Fabel des Menenius Agrippa," *Klio*, XXI (1926-27), 350 ff., who shows to what extent St. Paul has reproduced current stoic ideas (pp. 358 f.). The line leading from Stoicism ("*socii eius [dei] sumus et membra*"; Seneca, ep. 92, 30) to the Christian *Christi sumus membra* (Rom., 12, 4) and further to Roman law (see *Cod. Theod.*, IX, 14, 3 [In Eutropium, Sept. 4, 397]: "*virorum illustrium qui consilii et consistorio nostro intersunt, senatorum etiam, nam et ipsi pars corporis nostri sunt*," a passage to which Professor Otto Maenchen kindly called my attention) should be investigated even beyond Otto von Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* (Berlin, 1881), III, 134 ff. For John of Salisbury's alleged source, Pseudo-Plutarch's *Institutio Trajani*, see Hans Liebeschütz, "John of Salisbury and Pseudo-Plutarch," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VI (1943), 33 ff., who shows convincingly, it seems to me, that Pseudo-Plutarch is Salisbury himself.

or closely related to, the new study of Roman law, which began to exercise its powerful influence on the concepts of church and state alike. They reached their first full growth when, by the middle of the thirteenth century, the great lawyer-pope Innocent IV introduced or elaborated the notion of the *persona ficta*, the fictitious or (as we would call it) juristic person, that abstraction of any aggregate of man—corporation, community, or dignity—without which modern society could not easily exist.<sup>45</sup> Under the impact of those ideas, soon augmented and ethicized by Aristotelian social doctrines, the former liturgical term *corpus mysticum* lost much of its transcendental meaning. To what extent the purely sociological and juristic features began to dominate may be gathered from Aquinas, who quite juristically defined the church also as *persona mystica* instead of *corpus mysticum*.<sup>46</sup> That is, the mysterious materiality which the term *corpus mysticum* had still preserved, was here abandoned and exchanged for the juristic abstraction of the “mystical person,” which was synonymous with the lawyers’ “fictitious person.”

While the lofty idea of the church as *corpus mysticum cuius caput Christus* filled itself with secular corporational and legal contents, the secular state, striving after its own exaltation and quasi-religious glorification, itself adopted the term “body mystical” and used it for its own justification and its own ends. Already Vincent of Beauvais in the mid-thirteenth century mentions the *corpus reipublicae mysticum*.<sup>47</sup> The lawyers began to distinguish five or more *corpora mystica*—village, city and province, realm and universe.<sup>48</sup> Baldus defined the *populus* not simply as the individuals of a community, but as “men assembled into one mystical body” (*hominum collectio in unum corpus mysticum*).<sup>49</sup> And in England as well as in France the terms *corpus politicum* and *corpus mysticum* were used, without clear distinction, to designate the people and the state.<sup>50</sup>

At any event, before the end of the thirteenth century secular communities, large and small, were to be defined as “mystical bodies,” meaning simply

<sup>45</sup> Gierke, III, 246 ff.

<sup>46</sup> See, e.g., Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, III, q. 48, a. 2, ad 1: “Dicendum quod caput et membra sunt quasi una persona mystica.” See Lubac, in *Recherches*, XXIX, 461, n. 4.

<sup>47</sup> *Speculum doctrinale*, VII, c. 8, quoted by Gierke, III, 548, n. 75.

<sup>48</sup> Gierke, III, 545, n. 64, quoting Antonio de Rosellis; see also Fritz Kern, *Humana civilitas* (Leipzig, 1913), for the five corporations of medieval political thought.

<sup>49</sup> Gierke, III, 432.

<sup>50</sup> In England the term is found very often in Lancastrian times; see, e.g., *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, IV, 367, in a parliamentary sermon of the *legum doctor* William Lynwode (1430–31); John Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, c. 13, ed. by Stanley B. Chrimes (Cambridge, 1942), p. 30, 17 and 28; see also the sermons of Bishop John Russel, of Lincoln (1483), quoted by Stanley B. Chrimes, *English Constitutional Ideas of the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 180, 185. For France, see Hartung, “Die Krone,” p. 29, quoting Jean de Terre Rouge (ca. 1420).

any polity, any *corpus morale et politicum*<sup>51</sup> in the Aristotelian sense. There was, of course, no difficulty whatsoever in combining Aristotelian concepts with ecclesiastical terminology. Godfrey of Fontaines, a Belgian philosopher of the late thirteenth century, integrated very neatly the *corpus mysticum* into the Aristotelian scheme. "Everyone is by nature part of a social community, and thereby also a member of some mystical body." That is to say, man is by nature a "social animal." As an *animal sociale*, however, man is "by nature" also part of some "mystical body," some social body collective or aggregate, which Dante easily defined as "Mankind" and which others may define, as need be, in the sense of *populus* or *patria*, no matter whether referring to the kingdom of France or the city-state of Florence or any other social community and corporation.<sup>52</sup> From the works of Aristotle a new halo had descended upon the organisms of human society.

It will not be difficult now to draw some conclusions. Once the *corpus mysticum* has been identified with the *corpus morale et politicum* of the people and has become synonymous with nation and "fatherland," death *pro patria*, that is, for a mystical body corporate, regains its former nobility. Death for the fatherland now is viewed in a truly religious perspective; it appears as a sacrifice for the *corpus mysticum* of the state which is no less a reality than the *corpus mysticum* of the church. It all implies a recovery of certain ethical values and moral emotions which with regard to the secular state had been practically absent during the earlier Middle Ages, and yet so dominant in Greek and Roman antiquity. This, however, does not mean simply a paganization of the idea *pro patria mori*. Humanism had its effects, but the quasi-religious aspects of death for the fatherland clearly

<sup>51</sup> Gierke, III, 548, n. 75.

<sup>52</sup> Godfrey of Fontaines, *Quaestiones ordinariae*, I, 2, 5, ed. by Odon Lottin (Louvain, 1937), p. 89; cf. De Lagarde, *op. cit.*, p. 64. It may be mentioned here that in the thirteenth century also the royal title begins to change from *rex Francorum* to *rex Franciae*, indicating the territorialization of the state; see Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, I, 111, n. 1; see also Strayer, "Laicization," pp. 81 f., cf. p. 85, n. 3. On the other hand, the new definiteness of national boundaries is reflected also by the national limitation of ecclesiastical provinces, unknown in the earlier Middle Ages; see, for a few good remarks, Gerd Tellenbach, "Vom Zusammenleben der abendländischen Völker im Mittelalter," *Festschrift für Gerhard Ritter* (Tübingen, 1950), pp. 19 f. In England the title *Rex Angliae* became the general custom under Henry II. Interesting, in this connection, are the remarks of Sir Francis Bacon on the importance of a country's name as a unifier of the country. When, at the *entrée joyeuse* of James I, in 1603, Bacon suggested the name of Great Britain for the united crowns of England and Scotland, he remarked: "For name, though it seem but a superficial and outward matter, yet it carrieth much impression and enchantment." And he reminds the king of the power dwelling in the name of Graecia for the Greek resistance against Persia, in that of Helvetia to knit together the Swiss confederation, and in that of Spain as "a special means of the better union and conglutination of the several kingdoms." Cf. Stanley Thomas Bindoff, "The Stuarts and Their Style," *English Historical Review*, LX (1945), 207. See, for Spain, also Schramm, "Das kastilische König- und Kaisertum," pp. 109 f.

derived from the Christian faith, the forces of which now were activated in the service of the secular *corpus mysticum* of the state.

Pope Urban II had qualified the crusader's death on the battlefield as "charity" when he glorified death *pro Dei et fratrum dilectione*. In the thirteenth century, the *amor patriae* was commonly interpreted as *caritas*.

*Amor patriae in radice charitatis fundatur*—Love for the fatherland is founded in the root of a charity which puts, not one's own things before those common, but the common things before one's own. . . . Deservedly the virtue of charity precedes all other virtues because the merit of any virtue depends upon that of charity. Therefore the *amor patriae* deserves a rank of honor above all other virtues.

This is the opinion of Tolomeo of Lucca in his continuation of Aquinas' *De regimine principum*.<sup>53</sup> And in the same chapter, in which by and large he follows Saint Augustine, Tolomeo adduces Cicero saying that to all of us the parents and children, relatives and household members are dear, but that "the fatherland embraces *caritate* all those relations. What good citizen would hesitate to welcome death if it were profitable for the fatherland?" The examples drawn from Roman antiquity which Tolomeo had borrowed from Augustine were repeated by Dante with even greater emphasis.<sup>54</sup> He talks about the Roman *Decii* as the "most sacred victims" (*sacratissimae victimae*) and recalls "that ineffable sacrifice" (*illud inenarrabile sacrificium*) of Cato, of Romans, that is, who for the salvation of their *patria* or its liberty did not shun the darkness of death. "Whoever designs the good of the state designs the goal of law." This was the *thema probandum* of Dante's chapter which opens up a new legal-philosophic aspect of death for the fatherland.

To what extent actually a hero's death *pro patria* was religiously defended and defined may be gathered from the philosophers of the late thirteenth century, an age steeped in Aristotelian and often Averroistic modes of thought. Remigio de' Girolami, a Florentine who had studied in Paris and who seems to have been Dante's teacher, was a corporationalist in the extreme.<sup>55</sup> Although he did not, like Dante, confess the Averroistic corpor-

<sup>53</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum*, III, c. 4, ed. by Joseph Mathis (Rome and Turin, 1948), p. 41. For Aquinas himself, see *Summa Theologiae*, I, 60, 5, Resp.: "*Est enim virtuosus civis ut se exponat mortis periculo pro totius reipublicae conservatione*"; also II-II, 101, 3, 3 ("*pietas se extendit ad patriam . . .*"), with the good commentary on *patria* according to Aquinas, in *Die Deutsche Thomas-Ausgabe* (Heidelberg, 1943), XX, 343 ff. In general, see Hélène Pétré, *Caritas* (Louvain, 1948), pp. 35 ff.

<sup>54</sup> *Monarchia*, II, 5. See the very important study of Theodore Silverstein, "On the Genesis of *De Monarchia*, II, V," *Speculum*, XIII (1938), 326 ff.

<sup>55</sup> For Remigio's *De bono communi*, see Richard Egenter, "Gemeinnutz vor Eigennutz," *Scholastik*, IX (1934), 79-92; see also Martin Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben* (Munich, 1926), I, 361 ff., and "Studien über den Einfluss der aristotelischen Philosophie," *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie* (1934), No. 2, 18 ff. The social aspects of *De bono communi* have

ationalism of the collective soul, he nevertheless almost sacrifices the individual soul to the collective state. To Remigio the *patria*, the city community, takes precedence over both family and individual. Man is bound to love his *patria* more than himself; he should love it immediately after God "for the similitude which the city has with God." The universe, he argues, is more perfect an image of God than the city, but the city—a small universe—is more perfect an image of God than the individual. That is, for the sake of the *corpus mysticum* of the city Remigio strangely devaluates the physical individual which alone, according to Genesis, was created in the likeness of God. The Florentine, however, with some reservations went so far as to maintain that the personally guiltless citizen, if he could prevent his country from being eternally condemned to hell, should readily take upon himself his own eternal condemnation, even prefer it to being saved himself while his city was condemned. That means advocating not a simple *pro patria mori* in the sense of suffering a natural death. It is an attempt to defend even the eternal death of the soul, the jeopardy of individual salvation and of the beatitude of the life eternal for the sake of the temporal fatherland.<sup>56</sup>

Cicero could ask with Posidonius (*De officiis*, I, 45, 159) whether really the community was always and under any circumstances to be placed above the virtues of moderation and modesty. And his answer was a clear No.

For there are things, partly so dirty, partly so disgraceful and vile that the wise man will not do them even for the sake of the fatherland and its conservation. . . . Such things, therefore, he would not take upon himself for the sake of the *res publica*, nor will the *res publica* wish to accept them for herself.

Hence, the self-denial of the Christian patriot of Florence goes far beyond the wise moderation which the classical author demands, at least with regard to the sage.

Also in the Aristotelian and Averroistic circles at Paris similar problems must have been widely discussed. Henry of Ghent, though far from siding with the absurdity of his contemporary, Remigio de' Girolami, yet takes a stand against the scholarly selfishness of true or fictitious Averroists who held that the philosopher should not sacrifice his speculative life, and therefore with his beatitude of this world, if it conflicted with his civic duties.<sup>57</sup> Henry

been elucidated by De Lagarde, *op. cit.*, p. 65, and "Individualisme et corporatisme au moyen âge," *Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie*, 2<sup>me</sup> sér., XLIV (1937), 39.

<sup>56</sup> For the problem, which has been clearly recognized by Egenter, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 ff., see also Post, "The Theory of Public Law" (above, n. 24), p. 48, who remarks that according to the scholastic philosophers "the salvation of one's soul is the only private right that is superior to the public utility, except in the case of a bishop, who cannot, says Pope Innocent III, resign his office to save his own soul if he is needed to help others to salvation."

<sup>57</sup> De Lagarde, "Henri de Gand," pp. 80 ff., upon whose excerpts I have to rely, since the *Quodlibets* of Henry of Ghent are not accessible to me.

is one who strongly defends the sacrifice of temporal death for the fatherland but who no less strongly objects to spiritual death: for the temporal state man is not entitled to sacrifice the salvation of the soul. Moreover, he warns of a false death *pro republica*: for example, if a man chooses death on the battlefield not for his fatherland but for his own rashness; or if, instead of defending the justice and innocence of his country, he strives to acquire only honor and glory for his country in defiance of all justice—something called “imperialism” in modern language. For all that, Henry of Ghent vehemently rebukes the cowards who run away instead of fighting. Rather than to fly, the soldier should choose death on the battlefield *pro patria et republica* in accordance with Cicero’s device *Patria mihi vita mea carior est*—“The fatherland is dearer to me than my life.” And in this connection Henry of Ghent gives, as it were, the final blessing to death *pro patria*: he compares the death of a citizen for his brothers and his community to the supreme sacrifice of Christ for mankind.<sup>58</sup>

It is against the background of the secularized idea of the *corpus mysticum*—implying that the state as an abstract notion or the state as a juristic person finally achieved its semi-religious or natural-religious exaltation—that we can fully understand a tractate of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, which in 1446 he dedicated to the Habsburg emperor Frederick III.<sup>59</sup> With other teachers, this learned humanist maintains that the prince, the emperor, is entitled to take away the private property even of meritorious citizens in the case of an emergency of the state.<sup>60</sup> The ruler may demand even more than the property: he may demand *ad usum publicum* also the lives of the citizens.

It should not [writes Enea Silvio] appear too hard when we say that for the benefit of the whole body a foot or hand, which in the state are the citizens, must be amputated, since the prince himself, who is the head of the mystical body of the state, is held to sacrifice his life whenever the commonweal would demand it.

Not rarely do we find in the writings of curialists that the Roman pontiff is styled the head of the *corpus mysticum* of the church.<sup>61</sup> In Enea Silvio’s writing, however, we find a new version of the old theme. The “mystical

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>59</sup> Enea Silvio, *De ortu et auctoritate imperii Romani*, ed. by Gerhard Kallen, *Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini als Publizist* (Stuttgart, 1939), pp. 80 ff.

<sup>60</sup> For *necessitas non habet legem*, see Post, “The Theory of Public Law,” p. 56.

<sup>61</sup> Enea Silvio, *De ortu*, pp. 82, 418 ff. For the pope as head of the *corpus mysticum*, see, e.g., Hermann of Schilditz, *Contra haereticos*, II, c. 3, ed. by Richard Scholz, *Unbekannte kirchenpolitische Streitschriften aus der Zeit Ludwigs des Bayern* (Rome, 1914), II, 143 f. (“*ita se habent omnes fideles ad caput ecclesie, quod est Romanus pontifex, in corpore mistico ecclesie*”); see also Alvarus Pelagius, *Collirium*, ed. by Scholz, *op. cit.*, II, 506 (“*ecclesia que est corpus Christi mysticum . . . ibi est, ubi est caput, scilicet papa*”).



body of the church the head of which is Christ" has been replaced here by the "mystical body of the state the head of which is the prince." And so as to make the parallel quite unambiguous Enea Silvio reminds his princely reader that Christ sacrificed himself voluntarily although he, too, was *princeps et rector* as the head of the church.<sup>62</sup>

Here the parallelism of spiritual *corpus mysticum* and secular *corpus mysticum*, of the mystical body's divine head and its princely head, of self-sacrifice for the heavenly transcendental community and self-sacrifice for the terrestrial metaphysical community has reached a certain point of culmination. And from this high-point onward the historian will find it easy to coast down that road which ultimately leads to early modern, modern, and ultra-modern statisms.

It would be wrong to underrate the role which humanism and revived antiquity have played in the emotional revaluation of the ancient *pro patria mori* in modern times. The main spring, however, is that at a certain moment in history the "state" in the abstract or the state as a corporation appeared as a *corpus mysticum* and that death for this new mystical body appeared equal in value to the death of a crusader for the cause of God. And it may be left to the reader to figure out all the distortions which the central idea of the *corpus mysticum* has suffered by its transference to national, party, and racial doctrines in more distant and in most recent times. The so-called "Tombs of Martyrs" of the National-Socialist movement in Munich, or the gigantic streamer *Chi muore per Italia non muore* covering, on Christmas,

<sup>62</sup> If *pro patria mori* became an act of *caritas* and equivalent to *pro Deo (Christo) mori*, it might be expected, as Professor Philip Merlan kindly pointed out to me, that accordingly *patriam trahere*, treason against the fatherland, would be paralleled by *Deum (Christum) trahere*. In fact, Dante, *Inferno*, XXXIV, describes Brutus and Cassius sharing the punishment of Judas. This idea, however, has a long history, since every treasonable act would be interpreted by means of biblical exemplarism as a repetition of the treason of Judas. See, e.g., *Poenitentiale Valicellanum*, cc. 50 and 51, where it is said that not only a person delivering another man up to his enemies shall be judged like Judas, but also "*si quis castellum vel civitatem aut alicuius munitionem in manus inimicorum spiritu Judae tradiderit*"; Hermann Joseph Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und Bussdisziplin der Kirche* (1883), I, 376 f., quoted by Ferdinand Koenen, in *Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch*, VII (1923), 93, n. 11. Moreover, the *crimen laesae maiestatis* was customarily made parallel with the crime of the lese majesty of God; see Ernst Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich*, Erg. Bd., p. 110. Relevant to the problem is the study of Maxime Lemosse, "La lèse-majesté dans la monarchie franque," *Revue du moyen âge latin*, II (1946), 5-24, who very neatly points out how the notion *laesa maiestas* was replaced in the West by the feudal concept of *infidelitas* (personal treason as opposed to public treason); how the substance of *laesa maiestas* as a public crime was retained as a result of the religious or ecclesiological status of the king (Alcuin, *Epist.*, III, 12, in M.G.H., *Epist.*, IV, 24: "*In necem regis nemo communicare audeat, quia christus Domini est . . . et omnis quisquis tali sacrilegio assenserit. . . . Judae traditori sociatus sempiternis cremabitur incendiis*"); and how finally after the Bolognes revival of Roman law the ancient *laesa maiestas* reappears without abolishing the Christian concept of the king's religious nature. Both trends concur in the interpretation of suicide as treason or felony because through this crime "the king, being the head, has lost one of his mystical members." Edmund Plowden, *The Commentaries or Reports* (London, 1816), p. 261.

1937, the façade of the Milan cathedral for the commemoration service for the dead soldiers of the Fascist Italian divisions in Franco Spain, illustrate some of the recent nationalistic ravings which so terribly distort an originally venerable and lofty idea.

On the other hand, the disenchantment of the world has progressed rapidly, and the ancient ethical values, miserably abused and exploited in every quarter, are about to dissolve like smoke. Cold efficiency during and after the Second World War, together with the individual's fear of being trapped by so-called "illusions" instead of professing "realistic views," has done away with the traditional "superstructures," religious as well as ideologic, to the effect that human lives no longer are sacrificed but "liquidated." We are about to demand a soldier's death without any reconciling emotional equivalent for the lost life. If the soldier's death in action—not to mention the citizen's death in bomb-struck cities—is deprived of any idea encompassing *humanitas*, be it God or king or *patria*, it will be deprived also of the ennobling idea of self-sacrifice. It becomes a cold-blooded slaughter or, what is worse, assumes the value and significance of a political traffic accident on a bank holiday.

Needless to say, the two cardinals quoted in the introduction are far remote from those debasing tendencies which belong anyhow to a later period: both regarded the soldier's death on the battlefield as a true sacrifice which—with or without otherworldly reward—bestowed a final shimmer of human nobility on the human victim. When now we turn back to re-read Cardinal Mercier's pastoral letter of Christmas, 1914, we realize that the words he used, which then appeared so challenging, are in fact fully justified by a very long tradition of ecclesiastical doctrine and Western political thought in general. Those words did not express his private opinion or willful interpretation. Much can be said also, however, in support of Cardinal Billot's view. From a theological-dogmatic basis, he rejected the sentence expounding that "death christianly accepted assures to the soldier the salvation of the soul," because, he claimed, this was substituting the fatherland for God. And indeed, this substituting tendency has become more and more obvious since 1914. History, we might venture to say, supported Cardinal Mercier; theology, Cardinal Billot. But who was right and who wrong, in the crucial matter of the soldier's eternal salvation, cannot be decided by either the historian or, after the split between faith and reason, the philosopher.

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# General Dumouriez and the Girondins 1792-1793\*

RICHARD MUNTHER BRACE

DURING the first six months of the life of the National Convention, that is between October, 1792, and March, 1793, the Girondin party struggled to assert its political control over Revolutionary and war-torn France. That same period found General Charles Dumouriez playing the part of France's successful general. Between the party and the general extremely important relationships existed. The Girondins needed a successful war policy if they were to stay in office, and on his side Dumouriez needed, despite the flux of revolutionary conditions, a dependable civil administration which would furnish him the wherewithal to wage war. The future of party and general depended upon continued co-operation.

Between Dumouriez and the Girondin leaders there had been a liaison of some duration which on occasion was troubled and uncertain. The basis of this alignment was self-interest on both sides, and its strains had come at periods when interests could not be reconciled. Both Dumouriez and the Girondins had served in the ministry of Louis XVI from March to June, 1792. Dumouriez co-operated with this ministry—the Roland ministry—at the outset, but it is important to note that Dumouriez entered the ministry at Louis XVI's request ten days before the Girondin members, Roland and Clavière, became a part of it. He entered via the court and with the tacit approval of Narbonne, the outgoing minister, for whom he had drawn a plan of defense for the *Midi*.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, though the general was supported by the Girondin leader, Gensonné, he was more closely associated with the interests of the king than of the party. Dumouriez was given the disposal of six millions in secret funds, and, through his connections in the court, he

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<sup>1</sup> M. F. Barrière, ed., *Mémoires du général Dumouriez pour servir à l'histoire de la convention nationale* (Paris, 1886) (hereafter cited as "*Dumouriez*"), I, 425; Georges Lefebvre, "Études sur le Ministère de Narbonne: le renvoi de Narbonne," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, XIX (1947), 320; Albrecht von Boguslawski, *Das Leben des Generals Dumouriez* (Berlin, 1879), I, 97. For the early liaison between Dumouriez and Gensonné, see Roger Brouillard, "Dumouriez et les Girondins: correspondance inédite de Gensonné," *Revue historique de Bordeaux et du département de la Gironde*, XXXVI (1943), 35-47.

discussed problems with Louis XVI which were never aired in the general ministerial meetings.<sup>2</sup> Finally Dumouriez boycotted Mme Roland's ministerial dinners and refused to share information with his Girondin colleagues.<sup>3</sup> In spite of his social boycott, Mme Roland thought that Dumouriez possessed more spirit if less morality than his ministerial colleagues, that he was diligent, brave, wrote well, and was in general a courtly gentleman capable of large enterprises. He was pleasant with his friends, though ready to deceive them, and gallant with the ladies. Essentially she felt he was "made for the ministerial intrigue of a corrupt court."<sup>4</sup> Dumouriez never quite repaid Mme Roland in literary kind, yet it is clear that as an eighteenth century gentleman he favored the long bed and preferred to deal with the ladies there, rather than at the council table! When Dumouriez left the ministry a few days after the dismissal of Roland<sup>5</sup> and Clavière in June, 1792, he was on friendly terms with Louis XVI,<sup>6</sup> but he had been outmaneuvered by the court clique. In spite of this, his Girondin associates resented his close personal relationship with the king.

Because of personal animosity, Dumouriez took no part in Lafayette's *démarche* against the Legislative Assembly and Jacobin club, but the general was willing to receive Lafayette's command at the hands of the Legislative Assembly and to serve under the Girondin executive council of the Convention. In a letter written to the Legislative Assembly on August 14, 1792, before Lafayette's final desertion, Dumouriez carefully exploited Lafayette's conduct and called attention to his own loyalty and availability.<sup>7</sup> As the general had nicely calculated, the letter brought widespread applause. Shortly afterwards, Roland wrote Dumouriez a letter in which he scolded the general for his conduct in the first Girondin ministry but expressed confidence in him. This letter, says Claude Perroud, was frankly rude and maladroit, but it was a gesture of good sportsmanship, considering the earlier relationship, and it placed winning the war above personal tensions.<sup>8</sup> A correspondence ensued between Dumouriez and Roland, and Dumouriez and Brissot also exchanged letters though the latter disparaged the connection at a later

<sup>2</sup> Dumouriez, I, 435-37, 453-55.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 440.

<sup>4</sup> Claude Perroud, ed., *Mémoires de Madame Roland* (hereafter cited as "*Mme Roland*") (Paris, 1905), I, 72.

<sup>5</sup> Louis XVI's letter of dismissal to Roland was curt and frigid. "*Vous voudrez bien Monsieur remettre le portefeuille du département de l'Intérieur que je vous avoit confié, à M. Mourgues, que je viens d'en charger*" (Louis XVI to Roland, June 13, 1792, Bibliothèque Nationale [hereafter cited B.N.], n.a.f., 6241). A Girondin threat to indict Dumouriez before the Legislative Assembly probably hastened his resignation.

<sup>6</sup> Dumouriez, I, 472.

<sup>7</sup> *Moniteur*, Aug. 19, 1792.

<sup>8</sup> *Mme Roland*, I, 249-50.

date.<sup>9</sup> That Brissot was on friendly and cordial terms with Dumouriez during November and December, 1792, is proved by their correspondence.<sup>10</sup> Brissot needed Dumouriez' support to send Miranda on an expedition into Spanish America, and, above all, the Girondins required a successful general, which Dumouriez was after his success at the battle of Jemappes (November 6, 1792). Therefore, after the events of August 10, 1792, a reconciliation was effected between the Girondins and the general.

Girondin strength in the Convention and the sections of Paris had been seriously undermined by the problem of Louis XVI. The Girondins were willing to see the king stand trial, but on the final vote the party had split: the right wing was unwilling to see Louis executed, while the more advanced republicans voted for death. The party tried to evade the issue by asking that the question of punishment be referred to the nation. Vergniaud argued that any action taken by the representatives of the people was tyrannical unless it was submitted to popular ratification.<sup>11</sup> This argument was a denial of representative government and further involved an inconsistency since the Girondins were unwilling on other occasions to allow the sections of Paris to vote in any way save through their representatives. Vergniaud's views did not prevail, and this was a proof that the Girondins could not swing the Plain into line on every issue. The sections of Paris analyzed the tactic as another effort to pit the provinces against the capital. As a result the Girondins were once more charged with federalism.

On the other side of the ledger, however, is the evidence that the sections of Paris had neither unified nor pooled their resources with the Montagnards of the Convention. Certainly the moderate Girondin attitude toward the king was sanctioned by the upper bourgeoisie of Paris, but unfortunately for any future support that group might bring the Girondins, the Parisian bourgeoisie was leaving the capital for the provinces. The marquis de Villette estimated that 14,000 Parisians left during the month of December, 1792. Other signs of Girondin strength were that party's domination of the Com-

<sup>9</sup> Eloise Ellery, *Brissot de Warville* (Boston, 1915), p. 335.

<sup>10</sup> Claude Perroud, ed., *Correspondance et papiers de Brissot* (Paris, 1912), pp. 315-16 and 320, reproduces two letters written by Brissot to Dumouriez between November 28 and December 9, 1792; the later letter contains this friendly passage: "*A votre égard, mon cher général, je vous répète que vous avez de nombreux ennemis, et c'est dans l'ordre; continuez à les vaincre par vos succès. Mais défiez-vous d'une facilité que je partage avec vous, pour supposer dans les autres la même droiture d'intentions, le même désintéressement que vous avez. Je vous le dis avec franchise, ce sont vos entours qui vous ont fait et qui vous feront le plus d'ennemis. Vous ne pouvez être trop scrupuleux dans leur examen, et vous devez, à cet égard, consulter l'opinion publique. Vos ennemis sont les nôtres, les ennemis de l'ordre. Nous les abattons, N'en doutez pas. Pourquoi Gensonné n'est-il pas avec vous? Je vous embrasse. Répondez sur Miranda.*"

<sup>11</sup> *Moniteur*, Jan. 2, 1793.

mittee of General Security after January 9, 1793, and the resignation of Pache, the war minister with whom Dumouriez was constantly at odds. But these gains were temporary and limited because, after the assassination of Le Peletier on January 21, 1793, the Montagnards regained control of the Committee of General Security. Pache replaced the Girondin mayor of Paris, Chambon, in February. Another check sustained by the Girondins was the abolition of Roland's *bureau d'esprit public*, an information service through which Roland had maintained his influence in the departments. Roland himself resigned from the ministry of interior on January 22, thereby further weakening his party's hold upon public office.<sup>12</sup> No one within the party raised his voice to defend Roland against the Commune of Paris, and this lack of protest was another indication of disunity and enervation within the Girondin camp.<sup>13</sup> By 1793 the Girondins were neither in control of the government nor in total eclipse.

During the king's trial General Dumouriez was in Paris attempting to remedy what he considered to be a failure in liaison between the civil and military authorities. Arriving in the capital on January 1, 1793, on leave from his command in Belgium, he did not take the usual tour for victorious generals. He failed to make the personal appearances at points where crowds gathered as he had previously done. Instead, Dumouriez made himself as inconspicuous as possible. He took a small house at Clichy where he saw only intimate friends and political supporters, and where, during the first five days of his leave, he spent his time composing four petitions which he forwarded to the National Convention.<sup>14</sup> These petitions dealt with the Convention's second propaganda decree of December 15, 1792; the administration of Jean Nicolas Pache, the turncoat Girondin war minister; and plans for the forthcoming military campaigns.

Dumouriez had another interest, the saving of Louis XVI. In behalf of the king, Dumouriez apparently spent many hours soliciting support in Paris. But he avoided official channels, preferring to work through his Girondin friends Genouillon, Pétion, Condorcet, and Brissot. He met informally with these men at his residence, and with the Girondin ministers, Lebrun and Garat. But no workable solution resulted; indeed these Girondins themselves were divided or unsure of their minds, and the indefatigable Dumouriez sought other aid. He tried to organize support for the king within

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1793, for the resignation letter.

<sup>13</sup> Roland to Lanthenas, n.d. [probably written shortly after Jan. 22, 1793], B.N. n.a.f., 6241. This letter is a bitter explanation of his resignation.

<sup>14</sup> Albert Sorel, "Un général diplomat au temps de la révolution," *Revue des deux mondes*, LXIV (1884), 806; *Dumouriez*, II, 20.



the Jacobin club itself. As this activity in defense of Louis XVI became known, he became increasingly suspect to the superpatriots of the capital.

If the memoirs of Dumouriez are to be believed, he was ill between January 18 and 22, 1793, and therefore was *hors de combat* during the critical period of Louis XVI's trial and execution. Whether this illness was feigned or not is a question to which a ready answer cannot be given, and it is not a crucial one. More significant is the fact that when Dumouriez left Paris on January 26, 1793, to rejoin his command in Belgium, none of his problems had been favorably resolved. He had no assurance that the second propaganda decree would be annulled, Pache was still war minister, and Louis XVI was no more. Only his plans for future military operations in the Low Countries received approval, but this sanction came from the defense committee and the general council of the Convention, administrative organs which were then under fire and whose authority was questionable. The political situation which he observed in Paris seemed to be slipping from Girondin control. Dumouriez rejoined his command with a heavy heart.<sup>15</sup>

By February, 1793, large questions affecting the future of both the Girondins and General Dumouriez were still unsettled. A fundamental disagreement between the party and the general developed over the decree of December 15, 1792. Basically the decree dealt with the question of war finance.<sup>16</sup> The diplomatic, military, and finance committees, through Cambon, reported the proposal to the Convention in a motion recognizing that France might encourage neighboring peoples to overthrow the Old Regime, but proposing to avoid the cost of such liberation wars by introducing the assignat into the "liberated" areas and empowering French commanders to impound the wealth of foreign princes, the aristocracy, and the church. Cambon's introductory remarks called attention to Dumouriez' occupation policies in Belgium, where the general had refused to tax the inhabitants and thus, Cambon argued, left the privileged classes of that area free to carry on counterrevolution against France. To short-circuit such a possibility, he demanded "*Guerre aux châteaux, paix aux chaumières.*" During the short debate of Cambon's motion two Girondins, Buzot and Boyer-Fonfrède, advocated eliminating Old Regime administrators from office in conquered areas. Boyer-Fonfrède wished to include bankers and men of means within this category. Cambon's proposal and Buzot's amendment were carried, and the Girondins, far from modifying the decree of December 15, strengthened it.

<sup>15</sup> Sorel, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, LXIV, 806-808; *Dumouriez*, II, 20-60.

<sup>16</sup> The text of the decree appears in *Moniteur*, Dec. 17, 1792. Some discussion of it is preserved in *ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1792.

On January 12, 1793, Brissot delivered a report for the diplomatic committee which accepted the December 15 legislation and also promised the early dispatch of the British should they declare war.<sup>17</sup> Shortly thereafter the representatives of the Convention were ordered to administer the decree of December 15 in occupied areas. The Girondins therefore, were not coordinated with Dumouriez on the issue, and several of the leaders proved concretely that they were in direct disagreement with him.<sup>18</sup>

Between Dumouriez on the one hand and men like Cambon and Buzot on the other, a rather basic difference existed.<sup>19</sup> Dumouriez was a military man entrusted with the prosecution of the war; the other gentlemen were civil servants; Cambon was anxious to relieve the French budget of heavy war and occupation costs. Dumouriez believed that to the Belgians the Revolution was largely a protest against the reforms of Joseph II and that the clergy were anxious to lead that protest. Likewise he felt that the Belgian bourgeoisie would be alienated by the decision to make assignats legal tender. He was seriously concerned with Belgian reaction to what he called the pillage of the Convention. Certainly it made his occupation of that country more difficult. Finally Dumouriez was a royalist, and the decree of December 15 was cast from the republican mold in order to appeal to Belgian republicans.

Dumouriez had complained against the administration of Pache, the war minister.<sup>20</sup> The general claimed that his army was not receiving essential supplies, and he held Pache responsible for prejudicing the French war effort. Until the creation of the purchasing commission on November 4, 1792, Dumouriez had followed the practice current during the Old Regime of purchasing supplies from military furnishers. This practice, while admittedly extravagant, was satisfactory to the general, who gave his furnishers, the Doumerc Company, much credit for his victories of September and October. Despite the general's satisfaction with the old system, the ministers of interior, war, and navy—Roland, Pache, and Monge—agreed that a central purchasing agency would be more effective and reduce the cost of war. Accordingly the new agency was created and three men, Cousin, Bidermann, and Cerfbeer, were named to direct it. Cousin, a former professor at the Collège de France, represented Roland, who was concerned solely with purchases for the civil population. Cousin had been associated with Bidermann in supplying the

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1793.

<sup>18</sup> *Dumouriez*, II, 40-45. While he was in Paris in January, 1793, Dumouriez discussed the December 15 decree with Cambon. The last meeting between the two men ended on a note of violent disagreement.

<sup>19</sup> Sorel, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, LXIV, 798-99.

<sup>20</sup> *Dumouriez*, II, 10-11; Sorel, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, LXIV, 800.

city of Paris. Bidermann was a Swiss *émigré* of considerable prestige in the world of banking and commerce, and this position had brought him into intimate business relationships with Clavière, another Swiss-born financier, who was the Girondin minister of finance at the end of 1792. Clavière's brother was employed by Bidermann. Cerfbeer was the son of a well-known Alsatian munitions maker. This purchasing commission and its agents quite naturally were not favored by Doumerc or other private companies, who saw their furnishing trade nearly destroyed. While the purchasing commission was perfecting its organization, the armies of France suffered. Doumerc had been ordered on November 6, 1792, by war minister Pache to cease purchases for the army.<sup>21</sup> That Pache rescinded this order a few days later (November 10), asking Doumerc to continue supplying the army for two months longer, did not simplify the logistical problem.<sup>22</sup>

During December, 1792, and January, 1793, Dumouriez lodged many complaints against those persons charged with supplying his army. The purchasing commission was intended to centralize purchases and reduce duplication and graft. In practice it was badly administered. Apart from the shortcomings noted during the transitional period, supplies for Dumouriez' army were purchased in Belgium, brought to Paris, and then sent back to Belgium, where Dumouriez might have purchased them in the first place. Since it was winter and the roads were in poor condition, many essentials never reached the army. It is difficult to see how costs were reduced by this roundabout method of buying. It would seem likely that the only change was one of intermediaries, or percentage men, who took their profit after dealing with the purchasing commission instead of after receiving purchase orders signed by Dumouriez or his agents.

Actually Dumouriez tried to meet the supply crisis by making purchases for his army regardless of the purchasing commission, and he borrowed large sums from bankers, particularly Henri and Michel Simons, and from the clergy of Belgium. In addition, he drew directly upon the treasury of France. Sensitive republicans, knowing Dumouriez' royalistic views, feared that he might attempt to render his army independent of civil authority, and they took up the cudgels against him in the Convention. Cambon had already attacked him during the debate on the decree of December 15. Pache, from the war ministry, refused to honor Dumouriez' drafts upon the French treas-

<sup>21</sup> *Moniteur*, November-December, 1792, reproduces many of Dumouriez' protests both to Pache and to the Convention.

<sup>22</sup> The Dumouriez-Pache controversy was so heated that Dumouriez published the correspondence early in 1793 under *Correspondance du Gal Dumouriez avec Pache, ministre de la guerre pendant la campagne de Belgique, en 1792* (Paris, 1793).

ury. In various letters written to the Convention, Dumouriez complained bitterly of Pache, and the Convention supported its general to the extent that it prohibited the purchasing commission from operation in the military zone without authorization of the generals.<sup>23</sup> A law dated October 14, 1792, helped Dumouriez by sanctioning emergency purchases of the generals.

In his controversy with Pache, Dumouriez received important assistance from the Girondins. Quite apart from the general's grievances, the Girondins had reason to resent Pache because, though he had been brought to the war ministry by Roland, he aligned himself with the Montagnards. Roland and Pache agreed in principle on a centralized purchasing committee for both military and civilian needs, but Roland disapproved of the administration of the war office.<sup>24</sup> Together the Girondins and the Plain in the Convention had been able to force Pache's resignation at the end of January, 1793.<sup>25</sup> The new war minister, Beurnonville, was an old comrade of Dumouriez. The Doumerc Company was restored to grace, and Dumouriez was empowered anew to make purchases for his armies. Once again the interests of Dumouriez and the Girondins had been common, and both were pleased with what they thought was the solution of the Pache problem.

Basic to the continuation of the entente between Dumouriez and the Girondins were French victories. Military success depended upon many factors, but French diplomacy and the co-operation of the inhabitants of the Low Countries were not to be minimized. Dumouriez had long advocated the invasion of Holland, but the diplomatic and defense committees withheld approval. In his memoirs Dumouriez noted that the English ambassador in Holland, Lord Auckland, wished to negotiate with him.<sup>26</sup> This request, according to the same source, was transmitted through De Maulde, the French minister at the Hague, and was discussed in the ministry in Paris during January, 1793. Lebrun and Garat, the foreign minister and the minister of justice respectively, favored sending Dumouriez to negotiate either in London or with Lord Auckland, but Clavière, Pache, and Monge, the other three ministers, vetoed the idea. With typical disregard for official opinion,

<sup>23</sup> *Moniteur*, Dec. 15, 1792.

<sup>24</sup> Roland refused to sign the ministerial report due on February 1, 1793, because he did not wish to underwrite "the dilapidations and disorders of the war ministry" (Auguste-Théodore Girardot, *Les ministres de la république française, Roland et Mme Roland* [Paris, 1860], pp. 199-200, which reprints "Le ministre de l'intérieur aux maires et officiers municipaux de Paris," Jan. 22, 1793).

<sup>25</sup> *Révolutions de Paris*, Jan. 5-12, 1793, for evidence of co-operation between Girondins and Dumouriez against Pache.

<sup>26</sup> *Dumouriez*, II, 68. The same source indicates that at the same time Benoit, the French ministry's agent in London, reported that Pitt and the cabinet were willing to negotiate with Dumouriez in London.

Dumouriez carried on negotiations secretly with Auckland, who, according to the general, was still corresponding with him as late as February 3, 1793.<sup>27</sup> Of course, by that time the entire project was meaningless since France had declared war upon England and Holland.<sup>28</sup> Dumouriez' diplomacy had been dealt two harsh blows. The execution of Louis XVI had destroyed any possibility of negotiating with England, and the decree of December 15 guaranteed the antagonism of the Belgians in the area where Dumouriez' forces were deployed to invade Holland.

When the Girondins supported the war declaration against England on February 1, 1793, they were accepting the logical outcome of the French crusade they had begun a year earlier. If the Girondins had wished to avoid a conflict with England, they might have conciliated Austria and kept French troops out of Belgium. During Louis' trial, one argument favoring the appeal to the nation hinged upon the reaction such a measure might have upon Parliament.<sup>29</sup> Once the war with Britain was inevitable, the Girondin orators picked up the theme and exploited it. Brissot, reporting for the diplomatic committee on January 12, 1793, asked the Convention for "the most vigorous measures to repulse the aggression of the Saint-James cabinet."<sup>30</sup> This speech, which Brissot later declared was a statement of committee opinion rather than his own, demonstrated that there were men in the Convention who divorced foreign policy from the problem of Louis XVI. By February there was no doubt of the party's position.<sup>31</sup> The charge of royalism was too close to the Girondin doorstep to permit anything less than the ultrapatriotism of war hysteria. Even the sacrosanct French commerce was thrown into the balance as war was declared against Britain.

As a soldier with a troubled conscience, Dumouriez was less anxious for war with Britain than were his Girondin supporters. Dumouriez knew the weakened condition of the French army after January 1, 1793, when volunteer enlistments expired. Secondly, he knew that supply was disorganized as a result of Pache's maladministration and the acceleration of the war of movement. But more dangerous to the government than these physical disadvantages was the state of Dumouriez' morale. He was in the embarrassing position of leading a crusade when he was not a crusader. He had neither stomach nor heart for the people's cause; he was satisfied with the constitu-

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 75-76.

<sup>28</sup> On January 23, 1793, the French ministerial council authorized Dumouriez to see Auckland in Antwerp at a later date.

<sup>29</sup> Ellery, pp. 320-24.

<sup>30</sup> *Moniteur*, Jan. 15, 1793.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 2-4, 1793, for the debate and French war declaration.

tion of 1791 and he was highly interested in the career of one General Dumouriez. This outlook influenced his decisions in Belgium and Holland during February and March, 1793.

Exactly when Dumouriez formulated his counterrevolutionary plan is an unanswered question. That there was a plan is documented by his memoirs and confirmed by reliable witnesses to various of his conversations, and it probably crystallized after he left Paris for the front on January 26, 1793. The plan itself is highly significant in explaining his conduct and the Girondin reaction to that conduct. But what was this plan?<sup>32</sup> Dumouriez hoped to march into Holland, there to install a non-Jacobin government, retaining Dutch institutions. He then expected to return to Belgium, to annul the decree of December 15, and to expel the French sans-culottes. The Belgians could forge their own government. He anticipated peace in the Low Countries and peace between France and Britain. If the Austrians refused peace, Dumouriez expected to push them to the Rhineland and to contain them there. Finally he planned to raise an army in the Low Countries and to fuse it with his own forces. Once this was accomplished he would propose an alliance between the Low Countries and France, on condition that France readopt the constitution of 1791. If the Convention rejected the proposal, the general would march upon Paris and restore the duc de Chartres, the future Louis Philippe, to the throne. The plan had obvious limitations: the Belgians, Dutch, British, and Austrians might not co-operate, and in the French army there were many republicans.

To execute the first stage of the plan required a quick victory in Holland, and on February 17, 1793, Dumouriez crossed the frontier near Berg-op-Zoom, hoping that General Miranda would quickly occupy Maastricht. By March 3, Miranda retired before the Austrians, who not only relieved Maastricht but occupied Liège on March 5. At Liège the prince of Coburg levied the Austrian version of the decree of December 15 when he demanded 600,000 florins from the revolutionaries!<sup>33</sup> The executive council ordered Dumouriez to retreat (March 8), and by this time his plan seemed heavily prejudiced by Austrian military strength. Dumouriez obeyed the order because it was the obvious maneuver to avoid the destruction of his army, but, from Louvain on March 12, he wrote a bitter letter of complaint to the Convention.<sup>34</sup> He accused the Convention, particularly Pache, Cambon, and the Montagnards, of failing to maintain recruitment and supply, and of prejudicing the situation in Belgium by authorizing pillage.

<sup>32</sup> *Dumouriez*, II, 86-87; Sorel, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, LXIV, 808-809.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 810.

<sup>34</sup> *Révolutions de Paris*, Mar. 23-30, 1793, prints the entire letter.



This "declaration of war on the Convention" reached the president's desk on March 14, but Bréard, who was presiding, refused to allow a reading and referred it to the defense committee. After Danton read the letter he remarked that Dumouriez "had lost his political head."<sup>35</sup> Danton nevertheless still affirmed his support of the general's military talent and loyalty. The Girondins foolhardily tried to minimize Dumouriez' retreat, and the *Patriote français*, the party organ, called him a loyal Girondin and supported him against the "anarchists" who criticized him.<sup>36</sup> Robespierre, too, from the floor of the Convention on March 10, expressed confidence in Dumouriez. Robespierre based his opinion upon the fact that Dumouriez' personal glory was directly linked to the success of French arms.<sup>37</sup> But the more revolutionary sections of Paris considered Dumouriez a traitor, and on March 11 a deputation from section Poissonnière asked the Convention to indict Dumouriez and his staff.<sup>38</sup> To the majority of the Convention this petition was premature, and a general cry of indignation was raised.<sup>39</sup> In some journals, however, the general had been suspect for several months. The *Révolutions de Paris*, for example, called him royalist and objected to the imperious tone of his letters.<sup>40</sup> Officially and publicly Dumouriez had plenty of support until after the letter of March 12, 1793, became general knowledge, but this does not mean that his support was wholehearted. Most of the politicians in Paris were afraid to accuse him of treason until proof was established. Then, too, in mid-March, 1793, a reaction developed against the violent tactics of some of the sections of Paris. A sectional uprising against the Girondins had been scheduled for March 10, but a drenching rain dampened revolutionary ardor and helped save the Girondin presses, which had been one objective.

Meanwhile Dumouriez, in retreat in Belgium, found French agents ordering the removal of silver from religious communities. This order theoretically did not apply to parish churches or to church vestments, but in practice the churches of Belgium were being systematically looted. The general's patience was at an end, and he made sure that the part of his plan which involved clearing Belgium of sans-culottes was fulfilled. He expelled the Convention's national agents—forerunners of the representatives on mission; he publicly apologized for their sacrilege; and before leaving Brussels he barred the clubs from participation in public affairs. Protesting Jacobins

<sup>35</sup> Arthur Chuquet, *Les guerres de la Révolution: la trahison de Dumouriez* (3d ed., Paris, n.d.), p. 131.

<sup>36</sup> *Patriote français*, Mar. 12, 1793.

<sup>37</sup> *Moniteur*, Mar. 12, 1793.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 14, 1793.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Révolutions de Paris*, Nov. 17–24, 1792; Nov. 24–Dec. 1, 1792.

were arrested and clapped into prison.<sup>41</sup> Dumouriez next addressed himself to the military problem; he still hoped to defeat the Austrians and carry through his plan. He put an end to bickering among his three generals, Valence, Miranda, and La Noue. Valence had accused Miranda of *absurda fanfaronnada!* But, more important, Dumouriez tried to reassure his soldiers, and there is evidence to show that they had confidence in him.<sup>42</sup> Within a few days Dumouriez deployed his army to attack the Austrians. On March 18, 1793, the decisive battle of Neerwinden was fought and lost by the French. Actually Neerwinden was decisive only in the sense that the French were forced to retreat, but Dumouriez was temporarily prevented from carrying out his plan. From Tirlemont on March 19 he wrote to the Convention describing his check.<sup>43</sup> The commander in chief was disappointed in the part played by Miranda, who, though a courageous general, apparently had difficulty in rallying his force, which outnumbered the Austrians pitted against him.<sup>44</sup>

Before the defeat at Neerwinden the Convention had manifested a strong interest in Dumouriez' activities. Particularly anxious were the Girondins who had so completely linked their future with that of Dumouriez. They were sorely in need of information and they sought it from General Miranda, whom they had appointed.<sup>45</sup> Pétion, a Girondin leader, corresponded continuously with Miranda. On February 28 Pétion expressed complete confidence in Dumouriez,<sup>46</sup> but on March 13, before he could have read Dumouriez' "declaration of war" letter (of March 12) Pétion wrote: "I believe there is treason in our armies and that this treason is linked with a large plot against the republic. . . . Tell me frankly what you think of the situation. Reserve nothing. I need information for the public good."<sup>47</sup> Miranda answered Pétion from Louvain on March 21. He was highly critical of Dumouriez' generalship, but significantly the South American added, "There are many other very important facts which I would be pleased to communicate to you, and which I am unable to write."<sup>48</sup> By March 25 Miranda was in Paris, explaining that Dumouriez had proposed to him a march on Paris.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Chuquet, pp. 79-87.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90 and note, 91.

<sup>43</sup> *Moniteur*, Mar. 22, 1793.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*; Chuquet, pp. 115-16; William Spence Robertson, *The Life of Miranda* (Chapel Hill, 1929), I, 133-34.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 122-25.

<sup>46</sup> Pétion to Miranda, Feb. 23, 1793, *Archivo del General Miranda* (Caracas, 1930-33), XIII, 64.

<sup>47</sup> Pétion to Miranda, Mar. 13, 1793, *ibid.*, XIII, 67.

<sup>48</sup> Miranda to Pétion, Mar. 21, 1793, *ibid.*, VIII, 267-69. The quotation is on p. 268.

<sup>49</sup> Chuquet, pp. 138-40.

Like the Girondin chieftains, Danton, too, had a vital interest in Dumouriez. Danton had continuously supported that general, and, as noted above, he reaffirmed his support after reading Dumouriez' letter of March 12, but, like Pétion, Danton wanted more information. He therefore offered to go to Belgium, to interview Dumouriez, and to return either with a signed retraction of the letter of March 12 or with a motion for an indictment against the general.<sup>50</sup> Apparently a suggestion was advanced to send Dumouriez' old friend, Gensonné, along with Danton. Somehow the suggestion was passed over and Danton's friend, Delacroix, was named. The two representatives left Paris on March 15 or 16 and succeeded in seeing Dumouriez at Louvain on the night of March 20. The interview lasted until 3 A.M. of March 21, and failed to produce the retraction.<sup>51</sup> The general volunteered to write a few lines asking the Convention to reserve judgment. Precisely what was said between the commissioners and Dumouriez is unknown, but Danton and Delacroix parted company on March 21:<sup>52</sup> Danton returned to Paris, and Delacroix joined the other commissioners from the Convention (Carnot, Lesage-Senault, Gosuin, Treilhard, Merlin de Douai, and Robert) at Lille. It was physically possible for Danton to be back in Paris by March 22, or, at the latest, March 23, but strangely enough he did not speak in the Convention until March 27.<sup>53</sup> How can Danton's silence—and his broken promise to bring either a retraction from Dumouriez or a motion of indictment against him—be explained? In the first place, Danton was rather good at camouflaging his activities, and some of his operations are difficult to explain. If the memoirs of Thibaudeau and Levasseur can be believed, Danton attended the meeting of the newly composed defense committee (the embryonic Committee of Public Safety) on March 26, and suggested that Dumouriez had adopted the wrong policy in Belgium and Holland. Despite this, Danton believed that Dumouriez should be retained under surveillance since he was the only successful general that the republic had.<sup>54</sup> This may well have been Danton's honest opinion.<sup>55</sup> Another set of factors, however, could be enlightening: Danton and the Girondins tried to find means of reconciliation. Both had supported Dumouriez, and perhaps this

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 131–32. Gensonné was absent from the Convention on March 14, 1793.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>52</sup> Danton signed a report from Brussels dated March 21, 1793 (*Archivo del General Miranda*, XII, 1).

<sup>53</sup> *Moniteur*, Mar. 28, 1793.

<sup>54</sup> Chuquet, pp. 159–60, relying upon Thibaudeau's and Levasseur's memoirs.

<sup>55</sup> In the Convention on April 1, 1793, Danton reported that he recommended to the defense committee that Dumouriez be relieved of his command (*Moniteur*, Apr. 3, 1793). This same testimony gives the impression that Danton claimed he arrived in Paris as late as the night of March 24 or 25. The question, therefore, of where he was between March 22–24 becomes interesting and is unresolved.

common outlook was a basis for a projected broad agreement.<sup>56</sup> If this were the case and Danton wished peace with the Girondins, he could afford to wait for Dumouriez' next step. Certainly Danton was astute. He would not denounce a successful general during war, nor would he disrupt an army in retreat. Finally, both Danton and Delacroix were personally implicated in the scandalous pillage of Belgium.<sup>57</sup> This activity might have influenced Danton's relationship with Dumouriez.

Whatever Danton's motives were, his opinions were overruled on March 29 in the defense committee after additional evidence had been sifted. Pétion reported an interview of March 28 between Miranda, Bancal, and himself in which Miranda had accused Dumouriez of treason and predicted a march upon Paris. Shortly after, Beurnonville, the war minister, arrived with another communication from Dumouriez, dated March 28, in which the general once more outlined a desperate military situation and laid the blame upon "fifty authorities, each more absurd than the other." Le Brun, the foreign minister, entered the meeting with a report from one of his emissaries, Dubuisson, who had interviewed Dumouriez on March 26-27. To Dubuisson, Dumouriez had outlined his plan to march upon Paris and restore the Constitution of 1791. The committee had heard enough. It recommended that Dumouriez be summoned before the Convention. Acting upon this suggestion, the Convention on March 30 dispatched four commissioners—Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, and Bancal—and the war minister, Beurnonville, to bring Dumouriez to Paris. The commissioners left Paris at 8 P.M. on March 30. On April 1, they arrived at Lille where they expected to add Carnot to their number, but the latter was in Arras, and they proceeded without him to Dumouriez' headquarters at Saint-Amand. The interview with the general was short: he was not prepared to abandon his plan.<sup>58</sup> The committee was arrested, turned over to the Austrians, and finally exchanged for the dauphine, Mme Royale, on December 25, 1795. Fortunately for Carnot and the future defense of France, he failed to become bait for Dumouriez' wrath.

As a matter of record, Carnot, on mission at Lille, had no illusions about Dumouriez. In a private letter written to his friend Guyton de Morveau on March 28, Carnot wrote from Lille: "The aristocrats are beaming[.]

<sup>56</sup> Brissot recalled two interviews with Danton which may have taken place at the time (*Moniteur* [Supplement], Oct. 27, 1793).

<sup>57</sup> Albert Mathiez, *Autour de Danton* (Paris, 1926), pp. 165-73. Danton had been appointed commissioner to Belgium on November 30, 1792, and for several months thereafter divided his time between Belgium and Paris. The literature on Danton's venality is admirably summarized in Edmond Campagnac, "Comment s'est formée la légende dantonienne," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, XXI (1949), 1-53.

<sup>58</sup> Chuquet, pp. 159-78.

General Dumouriez climaxes his disloyalty[;] we would hesitate, even if we were able, to arrest him on the spot, but we do not know how to replace him and we are afraid of further disorganizing the army which is already a mass of vagabonds. . . . Our task is to find generals who are neither traitors nor imbeciles.”<sup>59</sup>

Unable to defeat the Austrians, Dumouriez hoped to ally with them. He had negotiated with the Austrian Colonel Mack on March 25 at Ath. Dumouriez would march to Paris while the Austrians moved up to the French frontier. At the interview with Mack, the French general also promised to evacuate the Low Countries. Dumouriez planned his Paris attack as a seizure of three strategic places: the Convention, the Jacobin club, and the Temple; and then he would proclaim the constitution of 1791. Mack guaranteed an armistice to free Dumouriez’ troops for this maneuver. Complete success depended upon the expedition against Paris.<sup>60</sup> This he was unable to accomplish largely because of the feverish counteraction of clear-sighted men like Carnot and because many of the troops and officers of the army were devoted republicans. Between March 25 and April 5, 1793, Dumouriez tried and was unable to occupy the key points of northern France upon which his march to Paris would have pivoted. Several of France’s officers of later fame worked against their general. They were Hoche, who warned the Convention, Macdonald, who guarded Lille, and Davout, who rallied the troops at Valenciennes to the republic and ordered his men to fire upon Dumouriez.<sup>61</sup> By April 5 his unpopularity was so great that he was fortunate to reach the Austrian lines alive. He had projected Lafayette’s threat into action, and he failed miserably. He spent the rest of his life on foreign soil living on pensions given him for occasional advice to Napoleon’s opponents. Unlike Lafayette, who had not so completely compromised himself, Dumouriez never returned to France.

So tenaciously had the Girondins supported Dumouriez that after his disgrace their loyalty to the regime was openly questioned. Ironically enough, on the day that Dumouriez arrested Beurnonville and the four commissioners, April 1, 1793, the *Patriote français* defended Dumouriez.<sup>62</sup> To the Commune’s petition asking for the arrest of the general, the editor suggested that indignation against the victor of Jemappes be directed toward those “patriots”

<sup>59</sup> “Carnot to Guyton de Morveau,” Mar. 28, 1793. The original letter is in possession of M. Pierre Arbelet of Aloxe-Corton, Côte d’Or. M. Arbelet graciously allowed the author to make a copy. The full text of this letter may be read in Richard Brace, ed., “Carnot and the Treason of Dumouriez,” *Journal of Modern History*, XXI (December, 1949), 313–16.

<sup>60</sup> Chuquet, pp. 141–46.

<sup>61</sup> Sorel, in *Rev. des deux mondes*, LXIV, 824.

<sup>62</sup> *Patriote français*, Apr. 1, 1793.

who had subsequently disorganized the army. Two days earlier the Girondin, Salle, was sadly compromised when representatives on mission, Antoine and Levasseur, forwarded an account of a letter over Salle's signature which they had found in Meurthe. Salle had counseled his friend in that department to arrest the representatives on mission as hostages should any trouble develop in Paris.<sup>63</sup> The letter caused a tumult within the Convention. Both Salle and Durande-Maillane, in later writing, attest that the idea of a restored constitutional monarchy was acceptable to them.<sup>64</sup> Regardless of this posterior evidence, the Girondins committed a serious error in blindly supporting Dumouriez long after it was evident to the sections, the Commune of Paris, and many members of the Jacobin club that the general was talking and acting like an aristocrat. Robespierre held his fire until April 3, when it was known in Paris that Dumouriez had arrested the emissaries sent to bring him back to Paris. On that day in the Convention, Robespierre turned his guns on Brissot, his opponent in the long debates over the issue of war and peace during the winter of 1791.

Brissot has been and is still the intimate friend of Dumouriez. . . . I declare that there is not a single instance where Brissot has not defended Dumouriez; Dumouriez' plan was to engage us in a perilous war and to turn it against our liberty. Dumouriez and Brissot were the first to propose that war against Austria; and you remember well what we said to them before declaring war on Europe: Destroy the court and replace your generals.<sup>65</sup>

The Girondins were unable to answer Robespierre's damning statement. With the discovery of the Dumouriez plot the Girondin leaders were the logical recipients of accusations ranging from treason and royalism to blind stupidity. Guilty or not, individual members could not escape the general calumnation. How many Girondins were involved in the treason is still a moot point, but the Jacobins found it convenient to launch a general smear campaign. It is difficult to comprehend the continued adherence of men like Brissot to the general long after rumors of the treason plan were bruited about. This inexplicable support of Dumouriez leads to speculation of an

<sup>63</sup> *Moniteur*, Apr. 1, 1793. Salle defended himself in the Convention by arguing that the letter had been written on the eve of the Parisian uprising of Mar. 10, 1793, that he had written the letter to a personal friend, Piquet, not to his department, and that he had given Piquet permission to show the letter to the representatives on mission. Piquet, however, was the vice-president of the directory of the department. What probably hurt most was Salle's characterization of Levasseur as "*un tartuffe et un hypocrite*."

<sup>64</sup> Sympathy for Dumouriez' plan is clearly indicated in a letter written by Salle and quoted by Georges Lefebvre, *La Révolution française: la Convention* (Les Cours de Sorbonne) (Paris, 1946), p. 355. Durande-Maillane of the Plain shared the opinion (*Histoire de la Convention Nationale* [Paris, 1825], p. 84).

<sup>65</sup> *Moniteur*, Apr. 6, 1793.



interesting sort. Did the Girondins actually have enough anti-Revolutionary prejudice to risk the possibility of Dumouriez' success? Would they have willingly benefited from such a success? In short, would they have accepted the ministerial position under the duc de Chartres had a restoration taken place? The evidence fails to return an incisive answer to these questions. However, it is apparent that there were Girondins who wanted to turn the clock back to the constitution of 1791, and there were others who were primarily interested in retaining political control regardless of ethics.

The capital result of the Dumouriez treason was that through "guilt by association" it contributed to the consolidation of the formidable opposition to the Girondin leadership. Within the Girondin camp, prior to Dumouriez' treason, royalists and republicans had uneasily straddled such issues as the constitution of 1791 and the question of Louis XVI. Danton and the Plain had supported Girondin war policies until mid-March, 1793. By April Robespierre and the Montagnards had united with the sans-culottes of Paris and such members of the Plain as Danton, Barère, and Guyton de Morveau against the Girondin conduct of the war. On April 7, 1793, elections to the newly created Committee of Public Safety failed to place one Girondin. The committee was dominated by the Plain.<sup>66</sup> The Dumouriez incident shortened the Girondins' time, which was already running out.

### *Northwestern University*

<sup>66</sup> The first Committee of Public Safety was composed of the following men: Barère, Delmas, Bréard, Cambon, Jean Debry, Danton, Guyton-Morveau, Treilhard, Delacroix (*Moniteur*, Apr. 10, 1793). Robert Lindet soon replaced Jean Debry. Two Girondins, Boyer-Fonfrède and Isnard, were on the list of substitutes, but they never served.

\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## The *Roberts* Case: Source of the “Separate but Equal” Doctrine

LEONARD W. LEVY AND HARLAN B. PHILLIPS

IN mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts the prejudice of color sought its last legal refuge in Boston's system of public schools. But no institution was safe from the pitiless criticism of conscience, for it was an age, presided over by the universal reformers, which pulsated with the spirit of social justice. Only the intoxicated visions of a perfect society delimited their imagination. Quite proper then that in William Lloyd Garrison's state the reformers should devote some measure of their energies toward improving the status of the colored American. The law prohibiting intermarriage had been rescinded in 1843, and railroads had been forced to abandon Jim Crow cars.<sup>1</sup> Separate schools for Negroes had been abolished, where they had existed, in Salem, Lowell, New Bedford, Nantucket, and in the smaller towns.<sup>2</sup> In the Supreme Judicial Court, in 1849, Charles Sumner, arguing the cause of Sarah Roberts before the great Chief Justice Shaw, eloquently coupled the “civilization of the age” to an appeal for the abolition of segregated education in Boston.<sup>3</sup>

For half a century schools for the exclusive use of colored children had been maintained in Boston. It was agreed by both parties to the *Roberts* case that the first school was originally established, in 1798, at the request of Negro citizens “whose children could not attend the public schools on account of the prejudice then existing against them.”<sup>4</sup> Boston refused to incur the expense of the colored school which was made possible by the benefactions of white philanthropists, including John Lowell, Jedidiah Morse, and John T. Kirk-

<sup>1</sup> St. 1843, ch. 5; *Twelfth Annual Report, Presented to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, by its Board of Managers, January, 1844*, pp. 5, 7; *Argument of Charles Sumner, Esq. against the Constitutionality of Separate Colored Schools, in the Case of Sarah C. Roberts vs. The City of Boston. Before the Supreme Court of Mass., Dec. 4, 1849* (Boston, 1849), p. 32. (Hereafter cited as *Sumner's Argument*.)

<sup>2</sup> See letters to Edmund Jackson from school committees of various towns on the results of abolishing separate schools, in *Report of the Minority of the Committee of the Primary School Board, on the Caste Schools of the City of Boston with some remarks* [by Wendell Phillips] *on the City Solicitor's Opinion* (Boston, 1846), Appendix, pp. 21-27.

<sup>3</sup> *Sumner's Argument*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 59 Mass. 198, 200 (1849). See also *Sumner's Argument*, pp. 27-28.

land. The school met in a private home until the contributions of Abiel Smith, Chief Justice Parsons, and others, in 1806, secured the basement of the newly erected African Baptist Church in Belknap Street as a permanent site. In 1815 Abiel Smith, "the merchant prince," died and left an endowment of \$4,000 for the school, which took his name. Not until 1812 had Boston assisted the school; the town's grant of \$200 was continued yearly till 1815, when the board of selectmen assumed control. Five years later, after the primary school for children of four to seven had become a part of the public school system, Boston legally fixed the pattern of segregation by establishing a separate primary for Negroes.<sup>5</sup>

For more than twenty years thereafter, the Smith Grammar School and its primary appendages continued undisturbed. Meanwhile, the Boston Negro had been growing in the political maturity which comes of being a free American. When the battle against the Jim Crow car had been won, colored militants, urged on by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, turned their forces against the Jim Crow school, once a blessing, now a discriminatory abomination. In 1846 they petitioned the primary school committee for the abolition of exclusive schools. Despite the protests of its two abolitionist members, Edmund Jackson and Henry I. Bowditch, the committee decided against the petition. The majority report stated candidly: "The distinction is one which the Almighty has seen fit to establish, and it is founded deep in the physical, mental, and moral natures of the two races. No legislation, no social customs, can efface this distinction."<sup>6</sup> To them, therefore, the segregated education of Negroes was "not only legal and just, but is best adapted to promote the education of that class of our population."<sup>7</sup> That very year, the white master of Smith School officially reported that the institution was shamefully neglected, desperately in need of repairs.<sup>8</sup> For over four years the issue was the occasion of discord among public officials and among the Negroes themselves, who were bitterly divided. In the press, and at public

<sup>5</sup> *Report of a Special Committee of the Grammar School Board, presented August 29, 1849, on the petition of sundry colored persons praying for the abolition of the Smith School* (Boston, 1849), pp. 18-21, 68-69.

<sup>6</sup> "Extracts from the Majority Report on the Caste School," in the *Liberator*, Boston, Aug. 21, 1846. To the abolitionists, such remarks were "flimsy yet venomous sophistries." *Ibid.*, editorial.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 59 Mass. 198, 201 (1849).

<sup>8</sup> "The school rooms are too small, the paint is much defaced, and every part gives evidence of the most shameful negligence and abuse. There are no recitation rooms, or proper places for overclothes, caps, bonnets, etc. The yards, for each division, are but about fifteen feet square, and only accessible through a dark, damp cellar. The apparatus has been so shattered and neglected that it cannot be used until it has been thoroughly repaired." Remarks of Ambrose Wellington, Master of Smith School, quoted in *City Document No. 28: Reports of the Annual Visiting Committees of the Public Schools of the City of Boston* (Boston, 1846), p. 151.

meetings, the issue was long debated, and no less than two majority and two minority school committee reports were published. Without action by the legislature, which alone could end the controversy, all the circumstances were at hand for a court case.<sup>9</sup>

Benjamin Roberts was one of the Negro leaders in the fight against segregation. Four times he tried to enter his five-year-old daughter, Sarah, in one of the white primary schools of the district in which he resided, and as many times she was rejected by authority of the school committee, solely on ground of color. On the direct route from her home to the primary school in Belknap Street connected with the Smith School, Sarah passed no less than five other primaries. Roberts was informed that his child might be admitted at any time to the colored school, but he refused to have her attend there.<sup>10</sup> Determined to test the constitutionality of the school committee's power to enforce segregation, Roberts brought suit in Sarah's name under a statute<sup>11</sup> which provided that any child, illegally excluded from the public schools, might recover damages against the city.

To argue Sarah's cause, Roberts retained Charles Sumner, a man of cultivated erudition, oratorical eloquence, and exalted moral fervor. Soon he was to become New England's greatest senator and slavery's most implacable foe. The city of Boston was represented by its solicitor, Peleg W. Chandler, Massachusetts' foremost expert on municipal law and founder of one of the earliest legal journals, the *Law Reporter*.<sup>12</sup> On the bench sat Chief Justice Shaw, whose probity, legal learning, and exceptional ability to penetrate to the basic issues of a case, combined to make him the pre-eminent state jurist of his day. For two decades—another was yet to come—he had gained imperishable fame for his profound influence on the development of American law. Historians best remember him for his decision that a labor union, organized on the basis of maintaining a closed shop, is not a criminal conspiracy; for his part in the celebrated Webster-Parkman murder case; and for his rigorous enforcement of the fugitive slave law.<sup>13</sup>

Sumner's argument before Shaw deserves to be included in a volume of

<sup>9</sup> *Sumner's Argument*, p. 4; *Report of a Special Committee of the Grammar School Board . . . August 29, 1849*, pp. 1-10, *passim*; *Liberator*, Aug. 10, Sept. 7, Dec. 7, 14, 21, 1849, Jan. 4, Feb. 8, 15, 1850.

<sup>10</sup> *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 59 Mass. 198, 200-201.

<sup>11</sup> *St.* 1845, ch. 214.

<sup>12</sup> Chandler's argument in the *Roberts* case is not reported by Cushing, the court reporter. But see the *Liberator*, Aug. 28, 1846, for the full text of his opinion as city solicitor given three years earlier to the school committee. Much of what Chandler said on the constitutionality of segregated education was adopted by the court.

<sup>13</sup> *Commonwealth v. Hunt*, 45 Mass. 111 (1842); *Commonwealth v. Webster*, 59 Mass. 295 (1850); *Thomas Sims's Case*, 61 Mass. 285 (1851). For an appreciative biography, see Frederic H. Chase, *Lemuel Shaw* (Boston, 1918).

great documents on American democracy, for its nobility of sentiment, literary excellence, and grasp of principles which have been validated by modern sociology. "Which way soever we turn," he told the court, "we are brought back to one single proposition—the equality of men before the law."<sup>14</sup> Quoting the paragraphs of the Massachusetts constitution<sup>15</sup> which courts of a later day were to construe as meaning the same as the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment,<sup>16</sup> Sumner observed that every form of inequality and discrimination in civil and political institutions was thereby condemned. "These are not vain words," he remarked. Within their sphere of influence, no person could be created or born with privileges not enjoyed equally by all, nor could any institution be established which recognized distinction of birth.

Sumner's second point was that the state legislature, in harmony with the constitution, had made no discrimination whatever in providing for an educational system.<sup>17</sup> Proceeding from constitution and legislation to judicial decisions, he showed that the Supreme Judicial Court had never countenanced any discrimination in the administration of the public schools. On the contrary, the court had declared: "The schools required by the statute are to be maintained for the benefit of the whole town, as it is the wise policy of the law to give all the inhabitants equal privileges for the education of their children in the public schools. Nor is it in the power of the majority to deprive the minority of this privilege."<sup>18</sup>

Sumner further alleged the unconstitutionality of the segregated school on ground of its "caste" nature, and he proved that the school committee had admittedly acted out of racial discrimination. The power of the committee was merely to superintend the public schools and to determine "the number and qualifications of the scholars."<sup>19</sup> A power to segregate could not be implied, argued Sumner, for the committee "cannot brand a whole race with the stigma of inferiority and degradation." To imply the existence of that power "would place the Committee above the Constitution. It would

<sup>14</sup> *Sumner's Argument*, p. 31.

<sup>15</sup> Declaration of Rights, Art. I: "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties . . ." Art. VI: "No man, nor corporation, or association of men, have any other title to obtain advantages, or particular and exclusive privileges, distinct from those of the community, than what arises from the consideration of services rendered to the public . . ."

<sup>16</sup> See *Lehew v. Brummell*, 103 Mo. 546, 553 (1890); *Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U.S. 78, 86-87 (1927).

<sup>17</sup> See *Rev. Sts.*, ch. 23.

<sup>18</sup> *Commonwealth v. Dedham*, 16 Mass. 141, 146 (1819). See also *Withington v. Eveleth*, 24 Mass. 106 (1928); *Perry v. Dover*, 29 Mass. 206, 213 (1831).

<sup>19</sup> *Rev. Sts.*, ch. 23, secs. 10, 15.

enable them, in the exercise of a brief and local authority, to draw a fatal circle, within which the Constitution cannot enter; nay, where the very Bill of Rights shall become a dead letter.”<sup>20</sup> Only factors of age, sex, and moral and intellectual fitness might be considered by the committee as qualifications, not complexion. Just as the law required the regulations and by-laws of municipal corporations to be reasonable, Sumner asserted, so must the acts of the school committee be reasonable.<sup>21</sup> But an *a priori* assumption by the committee that an entire race possesses certain qualities which make necessary a separate classification of that race, was an unreasonable exercise of the committee’s discretion, and therefore an illegal one.

Anticipating the “separate but equal” doctrine, Sumner argued that the segregated school could not be an “equivalent” because of the inconveniences and the stigma of caste which it imposed, and because a public school, by definition, was for the benefit of all classes meeting together on terms of equality. On such reasoning, he found that the school in question was not a public school, and as such, had no legal existence. It could not, then, be considered a legal equivalent. Yet if there could be an equivalent at law, “still the colored children cannot be compelled to take it.” They could not be required to renounce one jot of their rights to “precise Equality.”<sup>22</sup>

Before closing Sumner discussed certain matters “not strictly belonging to the juridical aspect of the case,” yet necessary for understanding it. What he said with nineteenth century elegance has been validated by twentieth century scholarship, but not nationally acted upon. His remarks, which deserve to be remembered, were, in part, as follows:

The whites themselves are injured by the separation. . . . With the law as their monitor . . . they are taught practically to deny that grand revelation of Christianity—the Brotherhood of Mankind. Their hearts, while yet tender with childhood, are necessarily hardened by this conduct, and their subsequent lives, perhaps, bear enduring testimony to this legalized uncharitableness. Nursed in the sentiment of Caste, receiving it with the earliest food of knowledge, they are unable to eradicate it from their natures. . . . The school is the little world in which the child is trained for the larger world of life. It must, therefore, cherish and develop the virtues and the sympathies which are employed in the larger world . . . beginning there those relations of equality which our Constitution and laws promise to all. . . . Prejudice is the child of ignorance. It is sure to prevail where people do not know each other. Society and intercourse are means established by Providence for human improvement. They remove antipathies, promote mutual adaptation and conciliation, and establish relations of reciprocal regard.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Sumner’s Argument*, p. 21.

<sup>21</sup> See *Commonwealth v. Worcester*, 20 Mass. 462 (1826); *Vandine’s Case*, 23 Mass. 187 (1826); *City of Boston v. Shaw*, 42 Mass. 130 (1840). In the last-named case, as Sumner pointed out, the court had voided a city by-law as unequal and unreasonable.

<sup>22</sup> *Sumner’s Argument*, pp. 24–25.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 28–30, *passim*.



Chief Justice Shaw, delivering the unanimous opinion of the court, upheld to the fullest extent the power of the school committee to enforce segregation.<sup>24</sup> The case required for its disposition no fine analysis of difficult legal points, and Shaw confined himself, as did counsel before him, primarily to general principles—and to predilections as well. That his opinion has had an enduring influence may be attributed, in part, to the fact that these principles were announced with sweep and force, and those predilections articulated.

Pointing out that plaintiff had access to a school for colored children as well fitted and conducted in all respects as other primaries,<sup>25</sup> the court rejected the contention that she had been unlawfully excluded from public school instruction. The issue, rather, was one of power, “because, if they [the committee] have the legal authority,” said Shaw, “the expediency of exercising it in any particular way is exclusively with them.”<sup>26</sup> The latter half of this unqualified proposition, which invested the school committee with discretionary powers to classify pupils by race, religion, economic status, or national origin, was stated as a fixed legal fact in support of which the court risked no reasons. Similarly, other conclusions which were adopted regarding the points at issue were characterized by a singular absence of considered judgment.

For example, Shaw proceeded directly from *carte blanche* approval of the committee’s discretionary powers, to an unwarranted assumption—in itself sufficient to decide the case—that all individuals did not possess the same legal rights. And whom else could he have had in mind but Negroes? What the chief justice said was so exceptional that his own words are given here in full:

The great principle, advanced by the learned and eloquent advocate of the plaintiff, is, that by the constitution and laws of Massachusetts, all persons without distinction of age or sex, birth or color, origin or condition, are equal before the law. This, as a broad general principle, such as ought to appear in a declaration of rights, is perfectly sound; it is not only expressed in terms, but pervades and animates the whole spirit of our constitution of free government. But, when this great principle comes to be applied to the actual and various conditions of persons in society, it will not warrant the assertion, that men and women are legally clothed with the same civil and political powers, and that children and adults are

<sup>24</sup> Associated with Shaw were Justices Samuel S. Wilde, Charles A. Dewey, and Theron Metcalf. Justice Richard Fletcher, who had given an opinion at the bar on the unconstitutionality of segregated schools, unexplainedly did not sit in the *Roberts* case. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> The fact that the segregated schools provided equal facilities was not challenged by plaintiff. Expensive but timely improvements were completed in September of 1849. The case was argued less than three months later. *Report of a Special Committee of the Grammar School Board . . . August 29, 1849*, pp. 13, 70.

<sup>26</sup> 59 Mass. 198, 206.

legally to have the same functions and be subject to the same treatment; but only that the rights of all, as they are settled and regulated by law, are equally entitled to the paternal consideration and protection of the law, for their maintenance and security. What these rights are, to which individuals, in the infinite variety of circumstances by which they are surrounded in society, are entitled, must depend on laws adapted to their respective relations and conditions.<sup>27</sup>

Stripped of its rhetoric, this paragraph set forth two contradictory propositions which were more succinctly expressed by that favored class, the pigs of George Orwell's satirical novel, *Animal Farm*:<sup>28</sup>

ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL  
BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS

Having by now virtually decided the case, by asserting unreasoned grounds for decision, the chief justice defined the question before the court—an inversion of the order of logic. He stated the question in such a way as to make possible by his answer the “separate but equal” doctrine:

Conceding, therefore, in the fullest manner, that colored persons, the descendants of Africans, are entitled by law, in this commonwealth, to equal rights, constitutional and political, civil and social, the question then arises, whether the regulation in question, which provides separate schools for colored children, is a violation of any of these rights.<sup>29</sup>

By way of answer, Shaw established in detail the undisputed facts that legal rights depend upon provisions of law; that the state constitution declared broad principles intended to direct the activities of the legislature; that the legislature, in turn, had defined only the general outlines and objects of an educational system; and that the school committee had been vested with a plenary power to make all reasonable rules for the classification of pupils.<sup>30</sup> Shaw was impressed with the fact that the committee, after long deliberation, believed that the good of both races was best promoted by the separate education of their children. The court, he said, perceived no ground to doubt that the committee formed its belief “on just grounds of reason and experience, and in the results of a discriminating and honest judgment.”<sup>31</sup>

In introducing into the jurisprudence of Massachusetts the power of a governmental body to arrange the legal rights of citizens on the basis of race, the chief justice was bound to show for the court not only that the discrimination, in the face of an equality of rights clause, was not forbidden; he should have shown that such discrimination was reasonable. Instead, he contented

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> (New York, 1946), p. 112.

<sup>29</sup> 59 Mass. 198, 206.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 206–209.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 209–10.

himself with the thought that the prejudice which existed "is not created by law, and probably cannot be changed by law." He added, moreover, that it would likely be fostered "by compelling colored and white children to associate together in the same schools."<sup>32</sup> This was the court's answer to Sumner's contention that the maintenance of separate schools tended to perpetuate and deepen prejudice. It did not occur to Shaw to appraise the experience of the remainder of Massachusetts, where children, without regard to race, attended the same schools, with the most successful results.<sup>33</sup> Thus the doctrine of "separate but equal" as a constitutional justification of racial segregation in public schools first entered American jurisprudence.

By 1855 the unceasing efforts of the abolitionists and Negroes proved to be of greater weight in Massachusetts than the opinion of its distinguished chief justice. A new statute was enacted which rooted out the last legal refuge of discrimination.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, courts throughout the nation continued to play the Shaw record of "separate but equal" long after it had worn out its validity as law in the state of its origin.

In constitutional history, however, Shaw's opinion has had a continuing vitality. It was initially cited with approval by the high court of the Territory of Nevada in 1872.<sup>35</sup> Two years later the California Supreme Court endorsed the doctrine by quoting most of Shaw's opinion, and concluded: "We concur in these views and they are decisive. . . ."<sup>36</sup> The courts of New York, Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana, West Virginia, Kansas, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Oregon have also relied upon the *Roberts* case as a precedent for upholding segregated education.<sup>37</sup> It has been mentioned by lower federal courts twice in recent years, as well as on earlier occasions.<sup>38</sup> In the United States Supreme Court, the *Roberts* case was first discussed by Justice Clifford in *Hall v. De Cuir* as an authority for the rule that "equality

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>33</sup> See above, note 2.

<sup>34</sup> *St.* 1855, ch. 256, sec. 1: "In determining the qualifications of scholars to be admitted into any public school or any district school in the Commonwealth, no distinction shall be made on account of the race, color or religious opinions, of the applicant or scholar."

<sup>35</sup> *State ex rel. Stoutmeyer v. Duffy*, 7 Nev. 342, 386; 395-96 (1872).

<sup>36</sup> *Ward v. Flood*, 48 Cal. 36, 41, 52-56 (1874).

<sup>37</sup> *People ex rel. King v. Gallagher*, 93 N. Y. 438, 441, 448, 453 (1883); *Maddox v. Neal*, 45 Ark. 121, 125 (1885); *Lehew v. Brummell*, 103 Mo. 546, 547, 553 (1890); *Ex parte Plessy*, 45 La. Ann. 80, 85, 87-88 (1893); *Martin v. Board of Education*, 42 W. Va. 514, 516 (1896); *Reynolds v. Board of Education of the City of Topeka*, 66 Kan. 672, 684-86 (1903); *Board of Education of the City of Kingfisher v. Board of County Commissioners*, 14 Okla. 322, 332 (1904); *Tucker v. Blease*, 97 S. Car. 303, 330 (1913); *Crawford v. School District No. 7*, 68 Ore. 388, 396 (1913).

<sup>38</sup> *Claybrook v. City of Owensboro*, 16 Fed. 297, 302 (1883); *Wong Him v. Callahan*, 119 Fed. 381, 382 (1902); *Westminster School District of Orange County v. Mendez*, 161 Fed. 2d. 774, 779 (1947); *Corbin v. County School Board of Pulaski County, Va.*, 84 Fed. Supp. 253, 254-55 (1949).

does not mean identity."<sup>39</sup> In *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the court turned to Shaw's opinion as a leading precedent for the validity of state legislation which required segregation of the white and colored races "in places where they are liable to be brought into contact. . . ."<sup>40</sup> When it is considered that the *Plessy* case itself is deemed the leading authority on the constitutionality of the "separate but equal" doctrine, and is universally cited in all segregation cases, the influence of the *Roberts* case has been immeasurable. In *Gong Lum v. Rice*, it was referred to by a unanimous bench to support the proposition that segregation in education "has been many times decided" to be constitutional.<sup>41</sup> Chief Justice Taft, the spokesman in *Gong Lum*, also added that the Massachusetts court had upheld "the separation of colored and white schools under a state constitutional injunction of equal protection, the same as the Fourteenth Amendment. . . ."<sup>42</sup> Currently a subject of controversy in the public forums and courts, Shaw's doctrine in the *Roberts* case is still the law of the land.<sup>43</sup> Its uncritical acceptance by the highest courts of so many jurisdictions, in a nation whose Constitution is color-blind—or should be, warrants its re-examination.

#### *New York, N. Y.*

<sup>39</sup> While his concurring opinion was directed at the unconstitutionality of *La. Rev. St. sec. 1*, 1870, which barred separate accommodations for Negroes on common carriers, Clifford addressed himself to the subject of education to show that, "Questions of a kindred character have arisen in several of the States, which support these views in a course of reasoning entirely satisfactory and conclusive." *Hall v. De Cuir*, 95 U. S. 485, 503, 504, 505 (1877).

<sup>40</sup> 163 U. S. 537, 544-45 (1896). "Plessy v. Ferguson was upon the right of the state to require segregation of colored and white persons in public conveyances, and the act so providing was sustained . . . upon the principles expressed by Chief Justice Shaw." *Westminster School District of Orange County v. Mendez*, 161 Fed. 2d. 774, 779 (1947).

<sup>41</sup> 275 U. S. 78, 86 (1927). As a matter of fact, the United States Supreme Court has always assumed, but has never actually decided, the constitutionality of "separate but equal" as regards public schools. See *New York University Law Quarterly Review*, XXIII (1948), 298-303, note.

<sup>42</sup> 275 U. S. 78, 86-87. For the provisions of the Massachusetts "injunction of equal protection," see above, note 15.

<sup>43</sup> *Sweatt v. Painter*, 70 S. Ct. 848 (decided June 5, 1950). "Nor need we reach petitioner's contention that Plessy vs Ferguson should be reexamined . . ." *Ibid.*, at 851.

# General Booth's Scheme of Social Salvation

HERMAN AUSUBEL

IN 1890, not many weeks before Christmas, William Booth, founder and first general of the Salvation Army, brought out a three-hundred-page volume that created a sensation in England. Capitalizing on the publicity attracted by Henry Stanley's recently published *In Darkest Africa, or the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin Pasha, Governor of Equatoria*, he called his book *In Darkest England, and the Way Out*. But the general had little need to exploit a catchy title.<sup>1</sup> Already for some years he had been one of the most prominent and controversial figures in an England filled with such prominent and controversial figures as Gladstone, Parnell, Chamberlain, Newman, Huxley, Bradlaugh, and Mrs. Annie Besant; and any volume that bore his name was likely to have a wide sale. The subject of his book was also in his favor, for the experience of Cobbett, Carlyle, Disraeli, Ruskin, Morris, George, Bellamy, and the Fabians, among others, had proved that an audience existed for writers who dealt with problems of social change.

The nineteenth century, of course, was rich in projects to reconstruct English society. Reformer after reformer, impressed by the dislocations growing out of the mechanization of industry, set forth his proposals to put things right. Undaunted by the failures of his predecessors, each was convinced that, ultimately, his suggestions would be considered, adopted, and applied. Self-confidence and optimism kept him at his project: some day people would listen. But in all the long history of social thought few of the makers of reorganization plans were so well equipped with optimism and self-confidence as General Booth. For this there was a good reason. As the general would have put it, he had not only truth, justice, and humanity but God on his side.

In order to demonstrate the need for his experiment in philanthropy, Booth devoted the first part of his book to a review of life in "the darkness." Dealing with the "submerged tenth" of the English population, he offered a graphic description of conditions among the homeless, the unemployed, the vicious, the criminals, and the children of the lost. Closing his touchingly

<sup>1</sup> Booth's title was, in turn, exploited in W. J. Riley, *In Darkest Eggland, and the Way Out; or, How to Hatch Chickens and Rear Them* (London, 1891). See *Literary World*, n.s., XLIV (1891), 52.

and powerfully written account of "the darkness" of the England of his day—he had had the literary assistance of W. T. Stead, editor of the *English Review of Reviews* and later (1893) author of *If Christ Came to Chicago*—he raised the rhetorical question, "Is there no help?" He then turned to the scheme of "deliverance" by which the submerged elements in the English social system were to be converted into self-respecting and self-supporting men and women. As his major objectives Booth proclaimed "food and shelter for every man" and "work for the out-of-works." But how were these objectives to be achieved? The answer was simple: mainly through the organization of city, farm, and oversea colonies.

Not that the "Darkest England" project was designed exclusively for the homeless, the starving, and the unemployed. It also established specialized agencies to deal with the sick, with criminals, drunkards, "moral lunatics," fallen women, women about to fall, and children of the streets; and it provided for a Poor Man's Bank, a Poor Man's Lawyer, a Matrimonial Bureau, an Enquiry Office for Lost People, and a seaside Brighton for East Enders. Booth, in short, had nothing but scorn for "those anti-Christian economists who hold that it is an offence against the doctrine of the survival of the fittest to try to save the weakest from going to the wall, and who believe that once a man is down the supreme duty of a self-regarding Society is to jump upon him."<sup>2</sup> According to Booth, the idea of laissez faire and the laws of supply and demand were simply "excuses by which those who stand on firm ground salve their consciences when they leave their brother to sink."<sup>3</sup> If Christianity was to stop being "a mockery to perishing men," Booth insisted that something would have to be done to extirpate poverty and to regenerate the lower strata of society.

The plan to deliver the submerged and to illuminate "Darkest England" would obviously cost money, and so the general ended his account with a stirring appeal to the public for funds with which to develop and expand his plant and machinery. Nor did he neglect potential contributors who lacked the time to read but had the time to look. With them in view he included in his volume a colorful and dramatic illustrated chart with the following key to cover the high points in his scheme:

The figures on the pillars represent the appalling extent of the misery and ruin existing in Great Britain as given in Government and other returns.

In the Raging Sea, surrounding the Salvation Lighthouse, are to be seen the victims of vice and poverty who are sinking to ruin, but whom the Officers appointed to carry out the Scheme are struggling to save.

<sup>2</sup> *In Darkest England, and the Way Out* (London, 1890), p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43; "What Is the Salvation Army?" *Murray's Magazine*, V (1889), 289.



On the left, a procession of the rescued may be seen on their way to the various REFUGES, WORKSHOPS, and other Establishments for Industrial Labor in the CITY COLONY, many of which are already in existence.

From the CITY COLONY in the centre, another procession can be seen, of those who, having proved themselves worthy of further assistance, are on their way to the FARM COLONY, which, with its Villages, Co-operative Farms, Mills and Factories, is to be created, far away from the neighborhood of the public-house.

From the FARM COLONY are to be seen Steamers hurrying across the seas, crowded with Emigrants of all sorts, proceeding either to the existing Colonies of the British and other Empires, or to the COLONY-OVER-SEA, yet to be established; while the sturdy baker on the left and the laundress on the right suggest, on the one hand, plenty of work, and on the other, abundance of food.

The more the Chart is examined the more will be seen of the great blessings the Scheme is intended to convey, and the horrible destruction hourly going on amongst at least Three Millions of our fellow-creatures, which we are anxious to bring to an end. And the more the Scheme contained in this book is studied and assisted, the more will the beautiful prospect held out on the Chart be likely to be brought into reality.

Within a few months of the publication of the general's proposals, England had become divided into Boothites and anti-Boothites, both of whom often resorted to language that hardly jibes with the traditional picture of the reserved English gentleman. The Boothites, determined that the fund drive should succeed, raised scores of arguments in favor of the scheme. The anti-Boothites, highly critical of what *Punch* called the "Boothiful Idea,"<sup>4</sup> cautioned Englishmen to spend their money on less speculative ventures. Both groups, in stating their views, used arguments that were well grounded and disinterested as well as fanciful and interested. Some of the arguments were general in character, some centered on Booth as an individual and the Salvation Army as an organization, and some related to specific features of the project.

Boothites championed the scheme for scores of reasons. It was simple, practical, wholesome, comprehensive, logical, good, big, honest, patriotic, and in harmony with the laws of political economy.<sup>5</sup> It combined the best ideas of individualists, economists, socialists, and social reformers.<sup>6</sup> Based on a blending of the Ten Commandments, common sense, and socialism, it was on the side of law and order, redeeming men "not by social strife and plunder, not by riot and revolution, but by the eternal remedies of labour and disci-

<sup>4</sup> *Punch*, XCIX (1890), 218.

<sup>5</sup> W. T. Stead, "In Darkest England, and the Way Out," *Review of Reviews*, II (1890), 382; *Spectator*, LXV (1890), 723; *Scots Observer*, IV (1890), 454; Francis Peek, "In Darkest England, and the Way Out," *Contemporary Review*, LVIII (1890), 805, 807; H. Greenwood, *General Booth and His Critics* (London, 1890), p. 126.

<sup>6</sup> *Rev. of Reviews*, II, 495.

pline."<sup>7</sup> Hostile to the godless and predatory type of socialism, it would help to combat the spread of atheism;<sup>8</sup> but at the same time it would make no religious distinctions, giving Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and even men of no religion at all the same assistance as Salvationists.<sup>9</sup> It would require no humiliating tests from applicants, and it would offer equal privileges and responsibilities to the sexes.<sup>10</sup> Overcoming the menace of the slum and of unemployment and the waste of manpower, it would lessen the pressure on workhouses, and thankful taxpayers would discover that rates were falling.<sup>11</sup> The scheme would eliminate the waste of money associated with competing charities, and it would forestall the development of statism.<sup>12</sup> Its cost, however, would be considerably less than that of any "third-rate war for the rescue of an Englishman in Africa or in Asia."<sup>13</sup>

Boothites also emphasized the qualifications of the general: his zeal and devotion, his buoyant enthusiasm, his boundless faith, his trustworthiness, his rare faculty of administration and organization, his genius for commanding obedience, his understanding of the lower classes, his sympathy for the downtrodden and the desperate, his unrivaled capacity for developing "miscellaneous crowds into efficient workers," and his power to make men work hard "and with smiling faces."<sup>14</sup> The general, in a word, was what Carlyle would have called an Ableman.

Finally, Boothites singled out particular features of the scheme for special praise. It was based on the notion of helping the poor to help themselves. Instead of charity, it offered work and discipline, and its work-test would surely deter the indolent.<sup>15</sup> And by organizing an oversea colony for people whose position was hopeless and useless in England, it would help create a New Britain and multiply the ties that united the mother country with her colonies.<sup>16</sup>

These arguments failed, however, to convince English anti-Boothites,

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I (1890), 469; *Scots Observer*, loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Arnold White, "The Truth about the Salvation Army," *Fortnightly Review*, n.s., LII (1892), 123; *Rev. of Reviews*, II, 497.

<sup>9</sup> *All the Year Round*, 3d series, V (1891), 17.

<sup>10</sup> D. M. Stevenson, "Darkest England: The Way Out and the Leader," *Westminster Review*, CXXXV (1891), 430, 440.

<sup>11</sup> A. Allardye, "The Problem of the Slums," *Blackwood's Magazine*, CXLIX (1891), 136; F. W. Farrar, "In Darkest England," *New Review*, III (1890), 495; *Athenaeum*, XCVI (1890), 579.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*; *Scots Observer*, loc. cit.

<sup>13</sup> Farrar, in *New Rev.*, III, 498; *Rev. of Reviews*, II, 507.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 494; Stevenson, in *Westminster Rev.*, CXXXV, p. 439; *Spectator*, LXV (1890), 723-24; Farrar, in *New Rev.*, III, 491; *All the Year Round*, loc. cit.

<sup>15</sup> Peck, in *Contemp. Rev.*, LVIII, 804; Farrar, in *New Rev.*, III, 499; Greenwood, p. 123.

<sup>16</sup> Francis Peck, "General Booth's Social Work," *Contemp. Rev.*, LXII (1892), 84; *Rev. of Reviews*, I, 469.

who were alarmed by the scheme and its implications. From their point of view, it was crude, commonplace, childish, sensational, impractical, utopian, overambitious, shapeless, loose, pernicious, preposterous, and as "hollow and unreal" as the religious system of the Army.<sup>17</sup> It was based on serious statistical errors.<sup>18</sup> It either ignored or belittled the vast number of religious and philanthropic agencies already at work to promote the welfare of the submerged.<sup>19</sup> It took little account of the preventive approach to poverty and crime.<sup>20</sup> It overlooked the problem of overpopulation as well as the problem of fluctuations in business prosperity.<sup>21</sup> It disregarded the "rule" that in general the loafer could not be changed into a useful member of society.<sup>22</sup> And even some of Booth's leading supporters admitted that the scheme underestimated the need for state intervention to close gin-palaces and dram-shops, to force landlords to keep their houses in a sanitary condition, to prevent the influx of foreign paupers who competed for jobs with Englishmen, to require railroads to provide adequate facilities for working-class elements, and to punish rogues who corrupted the innocent with pornography of all sorts.<sup>23</sup>

An awkward collection of ill-assorted proposals and wrong deductions, the scheme would hamper the free flow of labor, ruin the friendly societies, decrease membership in trade unions, and cripple existing charitable and philanthropic agencies.<sup>24</sup> Based on a misreading of the "special laws of human nature," it would bring swarms of the unemployed to London, make it easy to live by tramping, and increase the number of wards of society.<sup>25</sup> One vast

<sup>17</sup> *Saturday Review*, LXXII (1891), 38, 157; George William Foote, *Salvation Syrup or Light on Darkest England: A Reply to General Booth* (London, 1891), p. 21; Charles Stewart Loch, *An Examination of General Booth's Social Scheme Adopted by the Council of the London Charity Organisation Society* (London, 1891), pp. 60, 66; "Darkest England," *Church Quarterly Review*, XXXII (1891), 246.

<sup>18</sup> *Annual Register*, 1890 (London, 1891), p. 89; "Mr. Loch and 'General' Booth," *Saturday Rev.*, LXX (1890), 699-700; Loch, pp. 44-45; William J. Ashley, "General Booth's Panacea," *Political Science Quarterly*, VI (1891), 539; Thomas Henry Huxley, *Social Diseases and Worse Remedies: Letters to the "Times" on Mr. Booth's Scheme* (London, 1891), p. 62.

<sup>19</sup> H. Clarence Bourne, "'General' Booth's Scheme," *Murray's Mag.*, IX (1891), 175, 182; Mary Jeune, "'General' Booth's Scheme," *National Review*, XVI (1891), 705; Bernard Bosanquet, "In Darkest England" on the Wrong Track (London, 1891), p. 56; Loch, pp. 67, 79; *Church Quar. Rev.*, XXXII, 225; Ashley, in *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, VI, 538, 541; Philip Dwyer, *General Booth's 'Submerged Tenth,' or the Wrong Way to Do the Right Thing* (London, 1891), p. 74.

<sup>20</sup> Bosanquet, pp. 33, 62, 63.

<sup>21</sup> *Church Quar. Rev.*, XXXII, 238; Foote, pp. 21, 29.

<sup>22</sup> Bourne, in *Murray's Mag.*, IX, 175; Mary Jeune, in *Nat'l Rev.*, XVI, 697, 698, 700, 705; "General Booth's Scheme," *Economist*, XLVIII (1890), 1469.

<sup>23</sup> Peek, "In Darkest England, and the Way Out," *Contemp. Rev.*, LVIII, 806; An Ex-(Colonial) Attorney-General, "In Darkest England," *Nat'l Rev.*, XVI, 783.

<sup>24</sup> "Darkness Visible," *Saturday Rev.*, LXX (1890), 671; Bosanquet, p. 17; Bourne, in *Murray's Mag.*, IX, 181; Jeune, in *Nat'l Rev.*, XVI, 708.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 709; Bourne, in *Murray's Mag.*, IX, 180; *Athenaeum*, XCVI, 579; Bosanquet, p. 37; Foote, p. 11; *Economist*, XLVIII, 1469.

blunder, it would end the dominion of the family, invade personal rights, subvert social relations, rob individuals under the pretext of "rectifying the laws of production and distribution," and usher in a regime of platonic and despotic socialism.<sup>26</sup> A burlesque of God's revealed truth as well as a "tacit indictment" of Anglicans and Nonconformists, the scheme was likely to be "as disastrous as it was stupendous."<sup>27</sup>

Anti-Boothites did not let pass an opportunity to condemn the general as an individual and the Army as an organization. Using language fit for "a sensual, dishonest, sanctimonious, avaricious, and hypocritical scoundrel,"<sup>28</sup> they cast reflections on the honesty, judgment, insight, and wisdom of "Field-Marshal Von Booth."<sup>29</sup> They assailed his spiritual despotism, his dictatorial leanings, his insistence on blind and unhesitating obedience, his use of terroristic discipline and espionage, his contempt for "counting noses," and his determination to admit only those noses that would consent to be guided by his brain.<sup>30</sup> And if "Pope Booth" could not be trusted to carry out the scheme, neither could his Salvationists, with their tambourines, drums, processions, and medicine-man methods, their "blatant brazen brayings," their "tow-row, tow-row, tow-row," their vulgar, irreverent, and blasphemous ritual and their "uninstructed and unchastened religious fanaticism."<sup>31</sup> Their methods and beliefs, indeed, were "enough to furnish a Swift with fresh material for his indictment of mankind"; and to contribute to their scheme was to endow and strengthen an Army that might "easily become a worse and more dangerous nuisance than the mendicant friars of the middle ages."<sup>32</sup>

Anti-Boothites selected individual features of the general's "way out" for special condemnation. It made the position of fallen women, for example, more desirable than that of women who had resisted temptations. Providing facilities, moreover, mainly for the rescue of single people, it was sure to encourage married men to desert both family and responsibility; and its Poor Man's Lawyer would guarantee the success of many an intrigue in blackmail.<sup>33</sup> The production of its City Colony would glut the industrial market and spread unemployment; and its Oversea Colony could not pos-

<sup>26</sup> Foote, p. 1; Bourne, in *Murray's Mag.*, IX, 180-81; Dwyer, p. 82; Huxley, p. 104.

<sup>27</sup> Dwyer, p. 82; Jeune, in *Nat'l Rev.*, XVI, 706, 711.

<sup>28</sup> White, in *Fortnightly Rev.*, LII, 124; W. T. Stead, "General Booth," *Sunday Magazine*, XX (1891), 201.

<sup>29</sup> *Church Quar. Rev.*, XXXII, 244; *Punch*, XCIX, 218.

<sup>30</sup> Huxley, pp. 54, 65, 133; *Athenaeum*, XCVI, 579; *Saturday Rev.*, LXXI, 38; Dwyer, pp. 48, 65.

<sup>31</sup> Foote, p. 8; *Saturday Rev.*, LXXI, 10; *Church Quar. Rev.*, XXXII, 223; *Punch*, XCIX, 14; Huxley, p. 58.

<sup>32</sup> Foote, p. 4; Huxley, p. 61.

<sup>33</sup> Bourne, in *Murray's Mag.*, IX, 180.

of which are open to question. He achieved considerable success in his second purpose, for his special proficiency in the history of Spanish America enabled him to throw much light on this large and hitherto rather neglected aspect of his theme. He tells the reader virtually nothing, however, about either the authors of the books described or the reception the latter met with, and he failed to consult many important works, both old and new, such as eighteenth century periodical literature, the records of learned societies, the voluminous *Correspondance littéraire* of Melchior Grimm, and twentieth century studies by Carl Becker and Howard Mumford Jones. As for the third purpose, next to no evidence is offered regarding the influence that these books had in America.

If viewed as a collection of jottings from the author's notebook on some aspects of the theme announced by his title, this volume deserves a cordial welcome from all students of the intellectual history of the European-American world in the eighteenth century. It is to be hoped, however, that it is only a kind of progress report and that Dr. Zavala will continue his investigation of the whole subject. A first-rate study of it is needed, and this reviewer, who has a high opinion of Dr. Zavala's previous works, believes he is capable of producing such a study.

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ARTHUR P. WHITAKER

GESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG UND WELTANSCHAUUNG: BETRACHTUNGEN ZUM WERK FRIEDRICH MEINECKES. By *Walther Hofer*. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1950. Pp. 552.)

THIS is an exciting book and an important one. Along with the chapters in Cassirer's recently published *The Problem of Knowledge* and Srbik's *Geist und Geschichte* it represents a significant new contribution to the study of modern German historiography. Since Lord Acton's famous essay in the *English Historical Review* (1886) German historians have generally and often rightly been labeled admirers of power rather than right, of abstract absolutes rather than concrete ethics. There have been too many Hegels and Treitschkes among them, too few Mommsens and Burckhardts. Walther Hofer in his work on Friedrich Meinecke throws an encouraging light on the state of affairs of modern German historiography. It is high time that we are getting an evaluation of Meinecke, the dean among the living historians in Germany, the man who since the late years of the First World War has continuously and vigorously acted as a conscience among the German scholars.

Unfortunately we have to penetrate through somewhat obscure language and pedantic argumentation in order to appreciate the quality of Hofer's work. It constitutes a philosophic discussion of Meinecke's historical concepts such as individualism and collectivism, freedom and determinism, idealism and positivism, and of the aspects of the *Historismus*. Furthermore the book is an intellectual history of Germany since the nineteenth century seen from the perspective of the historical

arguments which Meinecke has engaged in during his long career. The controversies place him into context with men like Lamprecht, Croce, Marcks, Kjellén, and Spengler. Somewhat too incidentally the author is also concerned with drawing a portrait of Meinecke the man.

Though Hofer deals with Meinecke as "philosophic historian" he is careful not to force him into any philosophic system. It is indeed the quality of Meinecke's thought that he loves philosophy and yet insists on the essential difference between the disciplines of history and philosophy. Meinecke's concern to catch life in its fluctuations and inconsistencies accounts for his flexibility of thought and for his sometimes misunderstood hesitation to accept generalization. By proceeding carefully from concrete observations to abstract constructions, Meinecke, the student of Ranke, actually gives a peculiar persuasiveness to his final conclusions. His history, instead of being the handmaid of excessive moralizing, becomes a philosophy taught by example.

Hofer's premise, his attempt to relate Meinecke's historical concepts to his *Weltanschauung*, is consistently carried through. Any historian's work, in other words, amounts ultimately to his confession. Here indeed are the limits to objectivity with which modern philosophy of history is now so much concerned. We are not surprised then that Meinecke's reservations against the one-sided hero-cult of Treitschke and Marcks are closely connected with his growing skepticism about the effect of Bismarck on Germany, also that his awakening to the dangers of the worship of power was dictated by what he himself once called his "conversion" during the First World War. In this connection it is unfortunate that Hofer's work was concluded before the publication of the second volume of Meinecke's *Erinnerungen* covering the years 1901-1919. The author might have given more emphasis to Meinecke's development during those vital years from a mere scholar to a responsible citizen and from a nationalist to a citizen of the world.

It is good to see that a leading German publishing house feels again in a position to publish such a scholarly treatise. It might be suggested however that the usefulness of this rather involved book would have been greatly increased either by a detailed table of contents or by a topical index.

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

TWILIGHT IN SOUTH AFRICA. By *Henry Gibbs*. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1950. Pp. 288. \$4.50.)

THIS is a breezy, journalistic survey of the contemporary scene in the Union of South Africa by an Englishman who has traveled widely, interviewed intensively, and has come to the conclusion that South Africa lies now in the clutches of Nationalist-Calvinist-Afrikaners bent on a South African republic divorced from Britain and modeled on fascist lines.

The book touches but lightly on purely economic problems such as the fright-



ful results of erosion and is confined for the most part to an account of racial and nationalistic frictions, particularly those engendered by the colored, the native and the Indian peoples. The present government is intent on depriving the colored population (those of mixed blood) of franchise rights guaranteed by the act of union. Also by its proclaimed philosophy of "*Apartheid*" (racial separation) it is pressing steadily for the compulsory detention of the natives (Negroes) in reservations set apart for them. *Apartheid* likewise is applied most vigorously to the Indian minority, forbidding landownership and citizenship to Indians, creating in the large city of Durban what to all intent and purpose is an Indian ghetto.

Even those of purely white blood are not to be accepted on a basis of equality in South Africa, and by a proposed law South African citizenship would be limited by lengthening the years of residence required to acquire it.

Crime, poverty, disease, and despair are rife in the three major cities of the Union. In Cape Town it is the colored folk who bitterly complain of the filthy and overcrowded slums in which they are forced to live. Neither white nor black, they are forbidden places of amusement open to the whites, and their social and economic status is steadily deteriorating with the result that many have become Communists.

In Durban the Indian population already exceeds that of the whites and some 70 per cent of the Indians are reported in dire poverty, many of them considered lucky if they have as a home the heavy crate in which Ford automobiles are shipped to South Africa. Nevertheless, the Indians are better off than the natives in Durban, the latter staging bloody riots in 1949, killing Indians, burning their homes.

More fraught with danger to the peace of South Africa is the native question, for the natives, together with the Indian minority, outnumber the whites four to one. Most of the natives (Negroes) already live in reservations such as Basutoland and Swaziland, where for the time being they are under the suzerainty of the British crown, not under that of the Union. Herein lies a continuous source of friction between Britain and the Union, the latter demanding that Britain surrender these enclaves in the territory of the Union to Union rule, the former reluctant to do so, knowing full well that the natives in the reservations would be most harshly treated should the transfer be made.

Natives at present are not confined to these reservations but may seek work in mines or elsewhere. In Johannesburg they do all the rough menial work and in that city lawlessness, murder, and sex crimes surpass in frequency any city of like size in the world. Needless to say *Apartheid* is strictly enforced in Johannesburg.

Finally, the last third of this book describes the composition and the program of the Nationalist party, elected to office in 1948. According to the author it is the agent of a secret society, the Broederbund. This society publishes no list of members, but Dr. Malan and other members of his cabinet acknowledge membership

in it. The policies of the government, Mr. Gibbs asserts, are those of this secret organization denounced by the late General Smuts as most dangerous. One of them relates to the schools—the government is not content with bilingual schools, English and Afrikans on a parity. Steps are now under way to oust English and to exalt Afrikans, and to make mandatory in the schools the strict doctrinal religious instruction demanded by the Dutch Reformed Church.

The British are not wanted in South Africa, nor are Afrikaner people like Smuts who would fraternize with the British. The Broederbund, without question pro-Nazi in 1940–1943, would purge the Nationalist party of all dissidents no matter how unadulterated their Afrikaner blood. In many respects it is pictured as resembling the Ku-Klux Klan in the United States; and if it is as powerful as Mr. Gibbs seems to think, the outlook for South Africa, already at odds with India, Britain, and the United Nations over the future of German Southwest Africa, is far from pleasant and peaceful.

Princeton University

WALTER P. HALL

THE HINGE OF FATE. By *Winston S. Churchill*. [The Second World War, Volume IV.] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950. Pp. xvi, 1000. \$6.00.)

THE fourth canto of Winston Churchill's great epic of the Second World War maintains the same high level that was reached in *The Gathering Storm*, *Their Finest Hour*, and *The Grand Alliance*. In a thousand closely packed pages (it is the longest volume of the series thus far) it tells the story of the fall of Malaya, Singapore, and Burma; the loss of Tobruk, the victory of Alamein, and the occupation of North Africa; the first meetings with Stalin; the heyday of the German submarine; the decision to postpone the invasion of France and substitute the invasion of Africa and of Italy. In a sense the whole book, which covers the campaigns of 1942 and of 1943 down to the beginning of the invasion of Italy, deals with the turn of the war from defeat to victory, but a more local application of the title is given in the account of the battle of Alamein: "It marked in fact the turning of 'the Hinge of Fate.' It may almost be said, 'Before Alamein we never had a victory. After Alamein we never had a defeat'" (p. 603).

The affairs of Africa and the Near East were indeed always central in Churchill's attention. When reproached by Premier Curtin of Australia for starving the Far Eastern war zone, he defiantly assumed responsibility for his decision, "If the Malay peninsula has been starved for the sake of Libya and Russia, no one is more responsible than I, and I would do exactly the same again" (p. 9). Indeed, nothing is more reassuring and commendable than his willingness to shoulder the blame for British errors of judgment. Thus in his overestimate of the strength of Singapore: "I ought to have known. My advisers ought to have known, and I ought to have asked . . . the possibility of Singapore having no landward defenses no more entered into my mind than that of a battleship being launched without

a bottom" (p. 49). Such a man will be at least equally critical of the shortcomings of others. When told of plans to evacuate Singapore and destroy its ammunition dumps, he commented brusquely, "The obvious method is to fire the ammunition at the enemy" (p. 95), and he told his overcautious generals, "Everywhere the British and Americans are overloading their operational plans with so many factors of safety that they are ceasing to be capable of making any form of aggressive war" (p. 935). One hears an echo of Lincoln discussing the cautious McClellan.

Churchill pays the highest tribute to Russian valor and to Stalin's quick grasp of strategy, for example in seeing the value of the invasion of Africa. He was far from being as indifferent to Russia's needs as is generally thought. He advocated an advanced date for the Italian campaign partly to reassure Russia (p. 822), and long cherished a plan for the invasion of Norway to open up a direct path of aid to Russia (p. 323). But he defends, and this reviewer thinks conclusively, the decision to postpone the invasion of France, on the simple ground that Great Britain and the United States did not, either in 1942 or 1943, possess the military resources which were necessary. Moreover, he was horrified at Stalin's calm discussion of the liquidation of ten million "kulaks" to put his new farm program into effect, and he does not regard Russia as in any way cleared from the Polish charge of having massacred Polish officers at Katyn (p. 761).

Churchill was as frank with Americans as with Russians or Britons. Perhaps one reason why his blunt criticisms gave so little offense was that they were counterbalanced by warm and generous appreciation on other occasions. Thus, in the disaster of Tobruk, when the Americans rushed the newly minted Sherman tanks to the British desert war, taking them from the American soldiers who had just received them, Churchill comments, "There were no reproaches; not an unkind word was spoken. . . 'A friend in need is a friend indeed'" (p. 283). He acquiesced in the decision that the atom bomb should be constructed in the United States, supported (somewhat reluctantly) in the House of Commons the deal with Darlan in North Africa, and took no offense when Roosevelt wrote, "Stalin hates the guts of all your top people. He thinks he likes me better, and I hope he will continue to do so" (p. 201). On the other hand, he disputed Roosevelt's contention that China was a great power (pp. 133, 562) and showed much resentment at American lectures on British imperialism in India (pp. 218-19, 927-28). He differed from American military authorities on such matters as the timing of the Italian invasion and the use of airplanes in day bombing. He flatly contradicts the accuracy of Elliott Roosevelt's account of Anglo-American overtures to De Gaulle (p. 680).

There are many minor points of interest to students of history, for example, the nomination of Eden to be Churchill's successor if he should die during the war (p. 375), and a firm defense of the Zionists, considering the notorious British white paper on immigration to Palestine "a gross breach of faith committed by the Chamberlain government" (p. 952). From the notes in the appendix one gets the impression of a band leader who sometimes tried to be the whole orchestra. Noth-

ing is too small for his attention. He turns from great matters of state to such questions as the sugar supply for British beekeepers, the feeding of hens, and the permission to exchange rations with other people. ("It is absolutely contrary to logic and good sense that a person may not give away or exchange his ration with some one who at the moment he feels has a greater need. It strikes at neighborliness and friendship.") At one moment he is suggesting the bombardment of Vichy, if the French government there proved too troublesome; at another he is restoring regimental shoulder badges removed by an army council instruction.

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PRESTON SLOSSON

## Ancient and Medieval History

ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN TEXTS RELATING TO THE OLD TESTAMENT. Edited by *James B. Pritchard*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xxi, 526. \$15.00.)

THE attention of scholars was first drawn to the ancient Near East largely because that region provides the historical background for Biblical studies. Assyriologists first attracted general attention when, about eighty years ago, George Smith published an Assyrian story of the Flood that closely resembled the one given in the Book of Genesis. Other famous Assyrian and Babylonian stories paralleled the Biblical accounts of Creation and the first men. Countless other discoveries, made in various parts of the Near East, have since thrown new and unexpected light upon Old Testament stories, laws, ritual practices, and theology. On several occasions typical examples of this Oriental material have been collected in volumes on Biblical backgrounds, but never has there been so elaborate and scholarly a work as the one now before us.

With the aid of eleven distinguished Orientalists, Professor Pritchard has assembled enough passages from ancient Oriental literature to fill five hundred quarto pages, two broad columns to the page. The texts chosen are translated from Egyptian, Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Hebrew. They include myths and legends, legal documents and historical texts, rituals, incantations, and descriptions of festivals, hymns and prayers, didactic and wisdom literature, oracles and prophecies, secular songs and poems, and letters. There is no commentary, but brief introductions to each selection tell where the original inscription, tablet, or papyrus was discovered, its date (if possible), where it has been published and translated before, and where commentaries may be found. Brief notes discuss passages difficult to translate, or refer to parallel passages in the Old Testament. Most of these texts have of course been printed before, but not all have been available in English translation, and usually the more recent ones can be found only in learned periodicals enjoying no wide circulation. It is a great help,

for example, to have the Ugaritic texts from Ras Shamra—which throw so much light on the religion of Palestine on the eve of the Hebrew invasions—and the Lachish ostraca made available in this convenient volume.

The texts all were chosen because of the light they throw upon the Bible. Sometimes they show how much the Hebrews resembled their neighbors, and sometimes they bring out differences in fundamental ways of thinking and acting. The editors have always kept the Bible in mind, however, and they have not attempted to provide materials from which a general history of the Near East could be constructed. Nevertheless, they take a very broad view of Biblical backgrounds. Thus the Hittite selections fill almost fifty pages though they deal with a region and with matters rather remote from Palestine and the Bible. It is surprising, therefore, that so little attention has been given to Iranian material. There are two historical texts, translated from the Assyrian, which deal with Cyrus and Xerxes, and one dealing with Antiochus I, but there is nothing else after the Jewish exile of the sixth century. Since much of the Old Testament was put in approximately its present form in post-exilic times and its later parts show the influence of Persian ideas upon the Jews, more selections from Achamaenid materials might have been in order. It is somewhat ungracious, however, for us to clamor for more when so much that is excellent has been given. This carefully prepared and beautifully printed volume is one that every serious student of the Old Testament will want to keep at his right hand.

*University of Illinois*

J. W. SWAIN

GREEK CITY-STATES. By *Kathleen Freeman*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1950. Pp. 274. \$3.75.)

THIS latest book from the prolific pen of Miss Freeman sustains her reputation as a facile and charming writer. As long as modern curriculums leave little room for ancient history and the classics, we should perhaps be thankful to the popularizers for their efforts to acquaint the layman with the culture and the political and social experience of the Greeks and Romans. But most popularizers are satisfied with retelling in the idiom of their day what they find in a few literary sources. If Miss Freeman had utilized the rich data furnished by archaeology (she must know that "the spade is mightier than the pen"), coins, inscriptions, historical criticism, and historiographical reorientations and methods, she would have produced a fascinating work. But culling from Plutarch or Herodotus is less laborious.

Using as her material an undigested mass of antiquarian stuff, colorful anecdotes, dramatic and not so dramatic episodes, Pindaric and Theocritan passages, and tales of war (there is even the plan of a battle), Miss Freeman strings together the chronicle—she calls it continuous story—of nine cities: Thourioi, Acragas, Corinth, Miletus, Cyrene, Seriphos, Abdera, Massalia, and Byzantium. But it takes

more than this farrago "to rebuild the streets and market-places of old Corinth and Cyrene and the rest, and set their citizens walking and talking, until we see and hear them as vividly as, by the labours of scholars, we see and hear Socrates talking in the gymnasia." The author has no interest in recapturing the spirit of the city-state, or in recreating the passionate political struggle which more than anything else characterized the history of every city, because "to build up a comprehensive picture from these many units [the separate city-states] would be a formidable task."

Perhaps the best thing in this work is the introduction, "The Rise and Fall of the Greek City-State," in which the author, troubled by the discord among modern nations, sees in the history of ancient Greece a tragedy in three acts, the last act being the breakup of the city-state system under the assaults of Philip of Macedon. In a short moralistic "Conclusion," she avers that as the city-states perished for their failure to overcome "immediate self-interest," modern nations will have to give up immediate self-interest, "not necessarily because it is wrong, but because it is always dangerous and frequently suicidal."

Smith College

VINCENT M. SCRAMUZZA

HISTOIRE DU BAS-EMPIRE. Tome II, DE LA DISPARITION DE L'EMPIRE D'OCCIDENT A LA MORT DE JUSTINIEN (476-565). By *Ernest Stein*. Edited by *Jean-Remy Palanque*. (Bruges: Desclée De Brouwer. 1949. Pp. xxxiv, 900. 550 fr.)

THE second volume of E. Stein's *History of the Late Roman Empire* appeared, thanks to the efforts of his wife, Jeanne Stein, and Professor J. R. Palanque, after the premature and regretted death of the author. Both of them pay homage to the deceased in their prefaces, describing also the difficult conditions under which the author had to work in exile during the war. An outline of the author's life and a complete bibliography of his works will be welcomed by his friends and colleagues.

In thirteen chapters the author studies the history of the Late Roman Empire from the second reign of Zeno (476) to the death of Justinian (565). A special chapter is devoted to the reign of Zeno and two to that of Emperor Anastasius I. Theodoric the Great and Justin I are also treated in special chapters. The rest of the work deals with the reign of Justinian, his foreign policy and his wars from 527 to 540, his relations with the Eastern and Danubian neighbors from 540 to 565, and his wars in Africa, Spain, and Italy in the same period. Justinian's ecclesiastical policy is also divided into two phases, from 527 to 543 (edict against Origen) and from 542 to 565—the struggles which accompanied the condemnation of the Three Chapters. The interior evolution of the empire is thoroughly reviewed in two chapters. Only one chapter treats the "golden age" of Byzantine literature under Justinian.



The author gives most of his attention to political history and in this respect his work is indispensable for all who are interested in this period. His outline often lacks clarity—the division of the work is not a happy one, but this is compensated by the overwhelming richness of documentation with which he accompanies his conclusions. Historians will appreciate above all the wealth of information which they will find there on relations of the empire with the Persians, with the regions of the Caucasus—two difficult subjects—and with the Germanic nations. Many new observations will be discovered in Stein on the administration of the empire and on the evolution of imperial offices. These are matters which were particularly familiar to the author and concerning which he was an unparalleled master.

The outline of the work of Theodoric the Great provides most interesting reading. His policy toward the Romans is presented in a clear and often new light, although many will disagree with the author's statement (p. 106) that the epithet "the Great" should be given to Theodoric without restriction, but to Constantine and Theodosius I only with reserve.

The religious policy of Justinian is also studied very thoroughly, and we should be grateful to the author for his rich documentation. Unfortunately Stein fails to appreciate the role of the emperor in religious matters as the Christians had visualized it from Constantine the Great on, in the light of Hellenistic theories of kingship. Justinian is for him a "caesaropapist" who enslaved the church (pp. 374, 395, 397, 674). He ignores the fact that, according to the Christian Hellenistic theory, the emperor was the representative of God on earth and that it was his duty to care for the purity of the faith, for the welfare of the church, and for the spread of true Christian doctrine. Justinian was taking his duties in this respect too literally and went too far, but his whole religious and legislative policy must be reviewed from the point of view of the current political doctrine in order to be justly valued or condemned.

The author would have learned the main principles of the current political philosophy of Justinian's time from the anonymous treatise on polity, written in the sixth century, or from Agapetus' "mirror of princes." But the author does not even mention these works in his short and inadequate survey of Byzantine literature. The works of Peter the Patrician and of John Lydus—also important in this respect—interest him only because of what they disclose on the evolution of magistracies and administration.

The work is extremely valuable for the study of political history of the sixth century. But it is not yet the last word on Justinian and his policy. The evolution of ideas of this important period and the right evaluation of Justinian's religious policy still await a historian.

*Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University*

F. DVORNIK

A TRAVERS L'HISTOIRE DU MOYEN AGE. By *Louis Halphen*, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à la Sorbonne. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1950. Pp. xi, 352. 800 fr.)

THIS collection of essays by the late Louis Halphen, one of the most distinguished and respected contemporary French medievalists, will be welcomed by serious students of the Middle Ages. It gives in convenient, compact form materials published earlier in journals rarely found in a scholar's working library and in many instances often absent from the shelves of more elaborate collections. Professor Halphen's contributions to our knowledge of the medieval past are both extensive and important; his position as a peer among historians was firmly established; and his reasoned reflections on and analysis of medieval historical problems must be accorded more than mere respectful attention. The volume under review, however, does raise questions that are fundamental. The essays have all been published previously, fifteen of them before 1914, six in the 1920's, eight in the 1930's, one each in 1948 and 1949. The author insists that the various works are of unequal value and stresses the fact that certain ones bear the mark of youthful inexperience, adding, with due modesty, that others are marked by a persisting inexperience of riper age. The quality of all is high, but the reviewer believes that better results would have been obtained had more been done to bring the various essays abreast of current scholarship. There has been some attempt to do this here and there but not in systematic fashion for the book as a whole. In the selection entitled "Les origines du pouvoir temporel de la papauté," to cite but one example, a note explains that the study first appeared in the *Revue de France* in 1922, with the additional information that the essay no longer reflects the author's current opinions, for which reference is made to the second edition of his *Charlemagne et l'Empire carolingien* (1949). A similar situation faces the reader as he approaches many other sections. Furthermore, many of the selections represent writings that have already been incorporated into Professor Halphen's extensive synthetic works—*Les Barbares*, *L'Essor de l'Europe*, and others. The book, therefore, seems often to beg questions that the author has really resolved more precisely or even with more finality in works published subsequently to the essays as they are reproduced here. One cannot fail to compare this volume with the somewhat similar one of Haskins wherein he brought together work done over a long period of years and republished this in definitive, timely fashion as *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*. For Americans who can publish scholarly work of this sort only under exceptionally favorable circumstances, the mere printing of such a volume as that by Professor Halphen—excellent as it is—has about it something of the miraculous. Perhaps in France there are still buyers for books!

The essays are classified in several general categories, preceded by a short introductory selection emphasizing the timeliness of the history of the Middle Ages. Three sections deal with relations between Europe and Asia, especially in the early Middle Ages. These pages have an import for the present that could scarcely

have been noted by the author at the time of writing. Part II is reserved exclusively for the Merovingians and Carolingians. Here the reviewer found especially rewarding the re-reading of "Le 'De ordine palatii' d'Hincmar" and "L'idée de l'état sous les Carolingiens." An essay on the court of Otto III forms a separate section. The remaining parts contain studies of historiography in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, of France in feudal times, three fine essays on teaching and universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and two studies of the eastern Mediterranean regions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

*Northwestern University*

GRAY C. BOYCE

MONEY, BANKING, AND CREDIT IN MEDIAEVAL BRUGES: ITALIAN MERCHANT-BANKERS, LOMBARDS, AND MONEY-CHANGERS: A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF BANKING. By *Raymond de Roover*, Associate Professor of Economics, Wells College. [The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 51.] (Cambridge: the Academy. 1948. Pp. xvii, 420. \$8.75, to members of Academy \$7.00.)

THE MEDICI BANK: ITS ORGANIZATION, MANAGEMENT, OPERATIONS, AND DECLINE. By *Raymond de Roover*. [Business History Series.] (New York: New York University Press. 1948. Pp. xv, 98. \$4.00.)

It has come to the point that Professor de Roover makes astonishing discoveries and writes new books more rapidly than his reviewers can effectively absorb his output. A summary of his latest views on the history of the letters and bills of exchange will, one gathers, soon be appearing as one in the series of *Cahiers* of the journal *Annales* (Paris). The autumn, 1950, issue of *Renaissance News* (pp. 51-52) announces Professor de Roover's startling discovery of "three complete secret account books for the Medici bank, covering an uninterrupted period from 1397, when Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici founded the bank, to 1450." The few facts thus far disclosed concerning this precious find promise results so embracing in character as to justify confining the remainder of this review to the volume on Bruges.

A host of fortunate auspices have conspired to give this stately work an exceptional character. Some two decades of research, study, and writing have gone into its making—as the author tells us in his spirited autobiographical preface, his first visit to the Bruges archives occurred in May of 1929. Business experience in his native city of Antwerp afforded him, even before coming to these shores for further study, an almost uncanny power to breathe life into the ledgers and journals of the two Bruges money-changers, Collard de Marke and Guillaume Ruyelle, whose accounts, extending over the years 1366-1370, he had managed to rescue from oblivion. Studies at Harvard and the University of Chicago under a number of America's ablest economists and economic and business historians en-

hanced his familiarity with the best in modern economic and business-historical analysis. And last, but surely not least, has been the example and co-operation, first through scholarly acquaintance and then through marriage, of an American scholar, widely known in her own right and name (Dr. Florence Edler) for her many notable contributions to research in areas which parallel his.

The happy outcome of Professor de Roover's training and associations has been to make the volume before us far more than a dressed-up check list of the transactions of two money-changers of Bruges. Indeed, it is the most successful effort yet made to recapture the hum and bustle of enterprise in the proud city which, between the decline of the Fairs of Champagne and the ascendancy of Antwerp, as Professor de Roover reminds us, was to be the meeting ground of Baltic and Mediterranean commerce, the most important money mart in all north-western Europe. Professor de Roover's pages on the operations of medieval money-dealers have a vitality which can hardly be paralleled in recent writings, European or American. Nowhere else will one find so well-integrated a description of the far-flung trade, the business of exchange, and interregional clearance conducted by the great Italian commercial and financial houses. Nowhere else can one read so animated an analysis of the activities of the money-changers, including their practice of deposit banking, transfer in book, extension of credit through toleration of overdrafts by their clientele, the financing of trade, the application of the fractional reserve principle. To be sure, Professor de Roover's work leans heavily, as he himself avows, on the writings of other outstanding scholars, notably Georges Bigwood, A. Grunzweig, Armando Saporì, E. Lazzareschi, and A. P. Usher, but there is not the least doubt that his synthesis is a distinctive accomplishment.

With the main findings vigorously outlined in Professor de Roover's concluding pages (345-57), there can, in general, be no disagreement. The respective contributions of the Italian "merchant-bankers" (*mercatores*), the "lombards" (*usurarii manifesti, foeneratores*), and "money-changers" (*cambiatores*) to the development of modern banking are accurately appraised. Though, in the opinion of this reviewer, Professor de Roover's criticisms of older legal-economic historians who pioneered in this area (e.g., Levin Goldschmidt, A. Schaube, A. Lattes) are generally wanting in charity and sometimes even in justice, he has had the good sense to build upon and improve the structure reared by his distinguished compatriot Georges Bigwood. It is to Professor de Roover's credit—indeed, it is the clue to the success of his work—that he does not allow his animus against legal history to stand in the way of his acknowledging, albeit only tacitly, the critical significance for the medieval and early modern eras of what one might call the "cultural matrix of enterprise." Thus, he has rightly perceived—this reviewer has argued a similar case independently elsewhere—that the practices and careers of the different kinds of money-dealers, whether they were public usurer-pawnbrokers, money-changers, or merchant-prince financiers, were decisively influenced by—as they came decisively to influence—the patterns of religious belief, legal doc-

trine, social organization, and political power. Professor de Roover is refreshingly free from an illusion, all too commonly encountered these days, not only among purist economic and business historians but also, strange as it may seem, among the broader-gauged social and cultural historians of European life: he does not imagine that the authoritative norms of medieval society (such as the moral and religious beliefs; the legal rules, ecclesiastical or secular) were without influence on the conduct of men's lives in the market place.

There are, in truth, no evident structural flaws in Professor de Roover's work. Such blemishes as appear result largely from the abundance of his enthusiasm for the methods and tools of his craft. This reviewer must confess that the application (p. 42) of familiar Keynesian formulas to explain the reputed distribution and rate of Italian foreign investment abroad seems extraneous and less than convincing. Surely, the explanation of the high mortality rate of the outstanding commercial and financial firms suffers from exaggeration of the role of "endogenous" economic factors at the expense of the "exogenous" political imperatives.

Legal historians and jurists will not fail to detect the need for further refinement at a number of points: e.g., the contradictory explanations of the rationale and effectiveness of the canonist teaching on usury (pp. 124, 150, 157, 165, 348) and the conduct of the ecclesiastical program of restitution of usurious and ill-gotten gains (pp. 151, 157); the beginnings of the *monti di pietà* (p. 145); the origins and implications of the *exceptio* (not *exceptione*) *non numeratae pecuniae* (pp. 161, 312) and the renunciation thereof; the meaning of the *poena dupli* (p. 10); the niceties of the evolving juridical analysis of the contracts of deposit (*depositum*) and exchange (*cambium*).

On the documentary side, it may be remarked that embellishment and, in some cases, modification of de Roover's results will be found to follow from a fuller review of non-business records, notably diplomatic and so-called legal records. Of this, only a handful of instances need to be cited here. Central features of his description of the scope of enterprise of some of the most notable Lombard pawnbroking families and firms north of the Alps (e.g., the Roerio and the Mirabello) will obviously bear recasting in the light of charters edited by Q. Sella, A. Fayen, and V. Van der Haeghen, which are not mentioned in the bibliography. The discussion of moneylending in western Europe prior to the end of the thirteenth century (chap. II) would have benefited from reference to a number of too little known contributions: e.g., the researches of Hilary Jenkinson on William Cade of St. Omer, so prominently depicted in the neglected *Summa* of Robert de Curzon (d. 1219) as perhaps the most active international "usurer" of his day; the papers of E. Albe and others on the activities of the merchants and moneylenders of Cahors proper. Recourse to the published collections of learned opinions by authoritative jurisconsults on cases in litigation—the so-called *consilia* and *responsa* of the later medieval and Renaissance canonists and civilians—would not only have yielded him insights, available nowhere else, into business practices

and commercial law, but would have suggested essential new information on the activities in Bruges and elsewhere of a number of the peak commercial and financial firms, such as the Borromei of Florence and Milan. (It is a pity that historians and jurists alike on both sides of the Atlantic continue so grossly to neglect the vast library of consultations. He who turns their leaves will see at a glance that they provide untold treasures to all students, whatever their focus, who concern themselves with the transition from medieval to modern culture.)

All scholars will be indebted to Professor de Roover and to the Mediaeval Academy of America for the scope and over-all accuracy of the bibliography, index, tables (mostly from the ledgers of Collard de Marke), appendixes, and the illustrations, which include valuable old maps of the city and reproduction of significant paintings.

On this last point, a very recent study in the *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* (Deel XII, 1949-50, pp. 43-58) by the thoughtful and ever vigilant Hans van Werveke of the University of Ghent indicates the need for amendment of Professor de Roover's interpretation (p. 262) of the transactions depicted in a painting by Marinus van Reymerswael (ill. facing p. 270).

To sum up: Professor de Roover's work on Bruges constitutes one of the major achievements of twentieth century scholarship in the economic history of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. All parties concerned have reason to be proud of the author's performance.

University of Minnesota

BENJAMIN N. NELSON

FIVE CENTURIES OF RELIGION. Volume IV, THE LAST DAYS OF MEDIEVAL MONACHISM. By G. G. Coulton. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1950. Pp. xv, 833. \$9.00.)

THIS volume concludes the author's massive study of medieval monasticism, *Five Centuries of Religion*, which opened with *St. Bernard, His Predecessors and Successors, 1000-1200 A.D.* (1923), and was followed by *The Friars and the Dead Weight of Tradition* (1927), and *Getting and Spending* (1936). He had accumulated materials for a penultimate volume on the daily occupations of the monks; but in the "Days of Appeasement" he hastened to write the final volume, which lies before us, lest the turmoil of the approaching war should make careful work impossible. The author died in 1947, leaving the intermediate volume unwritten. The loss is not serious. For the first three volumes present a huge mass of evidence, discursive rather than systematic, which the final volume exploits, along with much new material, "to display the full drama of successive reforms, as they were attempted by group after group in the hope of staving off the cataclysmic Reformation" (preface).

The examination of the doughty old author's final volume is made easy by



the circumstance that he summarized it in an article, "The Last Generation of Mediaeval Monachism," in *Speculum*, October, 1943, pp. 437-57, an article which makes this review largely superfluous.

First of all the author answers those critics of the earlier volumes who charged him with praising the religious briefly and giving nearly all his attention to their weaknesses, as if he were a prosecuting attorney. "There is no real paradox," he declares, "in supposing on the one hand that monasticism was the greatest of civilizing forces for some thousand years in Europe, and that, on the other, for centuries before the Reformation, honest contemporaries confessed the lamentable gulf between monastic theory and practice, and felt this gulf to be widening instead of shrinking" (p. 1).

The bulk of the volume is given over to the reform movements on the Continent, and it ends with a study of the monastic situation in England which culminated in the Dissolution under Henry VIII. "The whole perspective in England is falsified if we do not see clearly, in their proper proportions, the successive Continental struggles for reform within the monastic system . . . and the progressive intervention of secular authorities, often at urgent invitation from Rome, to combat inveterate abuses against which all spiritual remedies seemed powerless" (*Speculum*, p. 438). "I lay only the lightest stress upon the evidence of Henry VIII's commissioners themselves. . . . We have a wealth of indications, from many different angles, which enable us to ignore for a while everything reported by those suspected commissioners, and to judge independently" (p. 561). And as a matter of fact, Coulton says, "Henry's plundering was not more barefaced" than that of Philip IV of France. Henry's "worst deeds cannot be compared with the systematic foul play in court, and the cruel punishment of burning inflicted upon the Templars by King and Pope in collusion" (p. 756).

The author frequently catches out his principal opponents, Pastor and Gasquet (see index for page references). One gets the clear impression that he is of the opinion that the ecclesiastical authorities were demonstrably unable to correct the inveterate weaknesses of later medieval monasticism. But he nowhere says so explicitly, unless we read these words as British understatement: "It may well be premature at present to aspire to a final judgment on mediaeval monasticism, but certainly the preliminaries for some such agreement among scholars is long overdue" (*Speculum*, p. 457).

*University of Wisconsin*

G. C. SELLERY

PREROGATIVA REGIS: TERTIA LECTURA ROBERTI CONSTABLE DE LYNOLN INNE ANNO 11 H. 7. Edited by *Samuel E. Thorne*, Professor of Legal History and Librarian of the Law School, Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. lii, 165. \$5.00.)

In the first volume of the *Statutes of the Realm* is printed the text of a docu-

ment long known as *Prerogativa Regis*. Although not itself a statute, it is an authoritative summary of the prerogative rights of the king as they existed in the time of Edward I. Its eighteen chapters deal variously with treasure trove, wreck, the property of felons, and rights with respect to tenants-in-chief. Framed as it was in the thirteenth century, it is essentially a feudal document, and most of its provisions had become obsolete by the end of the medieval period. Indeed, Littleton, writing in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, refers to the king's prerogative only twice. Yet, within a generation, the prerogative assumed an entirely new importance in consequence of Henry VII's determination to enforce his traditional rights as overlord and thereby to collect the revenues incident thereto. As Nathaniel Bacon put it, Henry "taught the people to dance more often and better to the tune of the prerogative than all his predecessors had done." The historic "rehearsal" of feudal rights contained in *Prerogativa Regis*, particularly those pertaining to tenants-in-chief, afforded the basis for the systematic exploitation of prerogative powers. However, new scope and content were quickly given to those obsolete clauses as royal administrators extended their application to situations not previously within their ambit. Within a few years of Henry's accession, the simple phraseology of the original document had become so obscured by technical interpretations that the law of the prerogative was urgently in need of definition and restatement. To this task several lawyers addressed themselves, and by the end of the year 1495 no less than four "readings," or expositions, of *Prerogativa Regis* had been given.

Of the available readings on *Prerogativa Regis*, Professor Thorne has selected for editing one given by Robert Constable at Lincoln's Inn in 1495. The text of the reading, hitherto unpublished, is that of Harvard Law Library MS. 13, fols. 269-327. Constable's reading has been chosen because it is more detailed than earlier readings and because in it the problems of interpretation have taken on a form which they were to retain for over a century and a half. Constable confines his exposition to the first seven chapters of *Prerogativa Regis*, since it was upon those that the king and his ministers chiefly relied for exploiting the potentialities of the prerogative. His lectures are accordingly concerned with the law relating to wardship, marriage, primer seisin, homage, assignment of dower, and fines for the alienation of land, insofar as those matters affected tenants-in-chief. Although his reading reproduces much of the traditional learning to be found in Littleton and the Year Books, he deals at length with the novel and difficult questions presented by the crown's recent extensions of feudal doctrine. For example: Is the king entitled to wardship when his tenant did not die seised of lands held in chief? Must a socager who holds in chief seek a license for alienating his lands? Is the transfer of an advowson or a rent charge an alienation so as to entitle the king to a fine? If lands are transferred by a tenant in dower to a bona fide purchaser, may they be seized by the king? A detailed understanding of such practical questions was a necessary part of the legal background of a lawyer seeking

to sue out of the king's hands *cum exitibus* lands improperly seized or seeking to have chancery reverse a decision in favor of the crown.

The significance of Constable's reading, however, lies less in his exposition of what Mr. Justice Frankfurter has termed "the unwitty diversities of the law of real property" than in its exemplification of the extent to which the first Tudor infused new vigor into moribund legal institutions. The crown policy of preserving and extending feudal conceptions—subsequently pursued by Henry VIII—was to have a profound effect on real property law, which even in the United States is still fettered by medieval doctrines. More immediately, that policy resulted in building up the position of the crown at the expense of the landed aristocracy and of parliamentary government.

The edition itself requires little comment. The fact that it is the work of Professor Thorne is in itself a guarantee of its accuracy and thoroughness. The critical apparatus is extensive and scholarly, containing cross-references to other readings on the prerogative (i.e., those of Frowyk, Spelman, and Staunforde), to relevant statutes, to Year Book cases, as well as to the relevant secondary literature. The text of the reading is prefaced by a learned introduction of fifty pages, itself a short treatise on the law of the prerogative. Although the purpose of the introduction is to elucidate by reference to their history the problems with which Constable deals, it is apparently intended for a small group of specialists at home in the detailed aspects of English legal history. Many readers will be deterred by the editor's assumption throughout of a technical knowledge of the niceties of medieval property law, which few lawyers and fewer historians possess. The book is nonetheless a significant contribution to the history of English law and adds substantially to our understanding of the new feudalism of the Tudors.

*University of Pennsylvania Law School*

GEORGE L. HASKINS

THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AT WORK, 1327-1336. Volume III, LOCAL ADMINISTRATION AND JUSTICE. Edited by *James F. Willard, William A. Morris, and William H. Dunham, Jr.* [Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 56.] (Cambridge: the Academy. 1950. Pp. xviii, 285. \$5.00.)

THE publication of the third and final volume of *The English Government at Work* twenty years after it was first projected is, in itself, a triumph over major misfortune. First, Willard himself died in 1935, then his editorial successor, Morris, in 1946. Four other contributors have passed from among us leaving their chapters in various stages of revision. One would-be collaborator has had to abandon scholarship for family duties in a changing world. The war caused major interruptions and delays.

Yet here is the final volume, briefer by three chapters than was originally planned but impressive enough in its roster of authors and headed by Professor Dunham's lively introduction. In a brief nine pages he, as the last of three edi-

tors, presents not only a history of the project but also an account of the changes in historical writing in the past thirty or forty years. Two things are clear from his words. One is that he has not allowed his spirits or his judgment to become beclouded by the earlier bad luck of the enterprise. The other is that he does not subscribe wholly to Willard's view of history nor approve heartily of his project, although he has had sufficient respect for it to see it conscientiously through the final stages.

Certain shortcomings become apparent even in one's first glance through the front matter of the third volume. The title is *Local Administration and Justice*. But the table of contents reveals that, among the central courts, only the court of common pleas rates a chapter. And there Miss Neilson does not pretend to do more than "offer certain suggestions" as to how records may be used and to describe the way in which the court handled certain cases chosen more or less at random. The colossal slag-heap of unmethodically compiled records made a truly functional study impossible. And evidently no one could be found to do the king's bench and the exchequer of pleas.

The remaining seven chapters individually fulfill with varying but satisfactory effectiveness Willard's original purpose. Miss Beardwood's and Professor Cam's chapters perhaps give the most active picture of government servants at work. The decade was a critical one in the development of the office of justice of the peace, but the most interesting contribution of Professor Putnam's chapter seems to me to be the account of Scrope's attempt to use the king's bench as a kind of superior eyre in relation to all local justice. Miss Taylor, a student of Miss Putnam, presents a rather surprising picture of the justices of assize as dealing only with land assizes to the neglect of their other statutory powers. Her discussion of *nisi prius* jurisdiction is not altogether satisfying. The chapters on mines and stannaries, boroughs as instruments of royal administration, and on manors and temporalities in the king's hands are rich in new and interesting material. Salzman's fascinating chapter illustrates best the impossibility of confining one's attention to ten years.

Yet despite the admirable quality of individual chapters, one wonders whether the three volumes really present to the reader the sense of "lateral interrelations, influences, and pressures" that Willard intended. Perhaps the truth is that the objective was impossible of fulfillment in an imperfect world. If the twenty collaborators could have met in an occasional seminar, one might get from the volumes more sense of the whole. But this obviously did not and could not happen. And if the completed work does not altogether fulfill Willard's dream, it does offer rich material for future historians.

*Rutgers University*

MARGARET HASTINGS

THE PLACE IN LEGAL HISTORY OF SIR WILLIAM SHARESHULL,  
CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH, 1350-1361: A STUDY OF

JUDICIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE METHODS IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD III. By *Bertha Haven Putnam*, Fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America, Sometime Professor of History at Mount Holyoke College. [Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1950. Pp. xviii, 328. \$6.00.)

IN this volume Miss Putnam has undertaken a new approach to legal and administrative history in that she has written a biography of a man who was not only chief justice of the king's bench for eleven years in the middle of the fourteenth century but also a justice of common pleas, chief baron of the exchequer, and a member of an incredible number of law enforcement commissions of one sort and another. The material has had to be gleaned from judicial and administrative records, many of them still in manuscript. The result is an interesting and enlightening picture, not only of Shareshull, whom Miss Putnam considers pre-eminent among the justices of Edward III, but also of the functioning of fourteenth century legal and administrative machinery.

The absence of any separation of powers in medieval government, known but not always sufficiently taken into account, is well illustrated by Shareshull's activities in council and parliament and by his part in making as well as enforcing much of the legislation of the middle of the fourteenth century. Since Miss Putnam's interest in him was stimulated by his frequent appearance on commissions of the peace and for laborers, it must have been gratifying as well as interesting to her to discover that he was responsible in large part for writing the ordinance and the statute of laborers and for many of the experiments with the office of justice of the peace which were made during his years of activity, as well as for other legislation.

The amount of ground which Shareshull covered when on circuit and his activity as a member of council and parliament show that the life of a medieval justice, even a chief justice, was a busy one. His interest in law enforcement included schemes to secure revenue for the French wars of Edward III through the imposition of financial penalties. As a prelude to a study of his contribution to legal history Miss Putnam has tackled the problem of the confusion between Shareshull and Shardelow which is the plague of every student of the Year Books. She has concluded, in spite of the progress in differentiation which she has been able to make, that this problem can never be fully solved. Shareshull's contribution to theory lay in the field of criminal law in his insistence that, among other matters, intent to steal was a felony, that under certain circumstances the killing of an outlaw was felonious, and that presence at a homicide could make an accessory. She also points out that judicial interpretation of statutes began in the fourteenth, not in the sixteenth, century.

Some of Miss Putnam's conclusions concerning Shareshull's activities and contributions are conjectural because of lack of sufficient evidence and the physical impossibility of searching the mass of legal records which remain from his

work. She is most meticulous in calling attention to the extent of the evidence and in qualifying her statements.

Miss Putnam's painstaking research and her extensive knowledge of fourteenth century law and legal history have combined to produce a work of high caliber. Comparable studies of other officials, if done with the same thoroughness, could add much to our knowledge and understanding of the working of medieval government.

*Hunter College*

ELISABETH G. KIMBALL

THE RENAISSANCE: ITS NATURE AND ORIGINS. By *George Clarke Sel-  
lery*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1950. Pp. 296. \$3.75.)

In his preface the author states that his book is "an essay on the Renaissance not a history of the Renaissance." His purpose is to provide "a broad survey of the more salient features of the Renaissance" and to determine "the fundamental nature of the movement and the sources of its power." After the many volumes written on this problem an undertaking of such magnitude needs courage and its completion within the compass of 263 pages small in size but large in print seems almost impossible. But the author succeeds astonishingly well in presenting a full picture of the period in its variety and uniformity. He organizes the immense material by dividing his book in a number of systematic sections, such as economics, government and politics, philosophy, history. Within these sections he briefly discusses the main figures active in the respective fields, for instance, in the chapter on politics, Dubois, Dante, Marsilius, and Machiavelli, or in a chapter entitled "Victory of the Vernacular," Chaucer, Villon, Pulci, Boiardo, and Ariosto. Because of the great number of persons and subjects treated in this book it is evident that no one will agree with all the judgments of the author. For instance, to me the praise of Ariosto appears somewhat tepid, the philosophical importance of Valla not sufficiently stressed; I dislike the chapter on the fine arts which seems to me vitiated by the worn-out and obsolete contraposition of northern concern with contents and southern emphasis on form. But other characterizations—for example, the one of Marsilius—are in my opinion admirably clear summarizations of the views of the men. Unavoidable differences in the evaluation of the achievements of individuals do not detract from the merit of the book which consists in the presentation of a clear outline of the main ideas and interests of the period.

The criticism which must be raised against this book concerns its claim to solve "the baffling concept of the Renaissance." The chief target of the author is the thesis of the importance of the revival of antiquity for the origin of the modern world and of Italy's primacy in the conquest of a new intellectual outlook. Briefly the book is an attack against the Burckhardt thesis (although the author is well aware that the thesis in this form is rather the elaboration of some Burckhardtian ideas by successors than the concept of the Swiss master himself). In



contrast to this thesis the author believes that it was the broad stream of the vigorous people all over Europe which created the Renaissance and that the revival of antiquity in Italy did not promote this development but retarded it.

A review is not the place for the discussion of a thesis of such general character. The author clearly belongs to that group of scholars with whom W. K. Ferguson in his *The Renaissance in Historical Thought* deals in the chapter "Reaction against the Burckhardtian Tradition." It must be said, however, that the book under review hardly contributes any new material to this discussion. The author does not touch upon those issues with which scholarly investigation of recent years has been particularly concerned, namely, with the consequences of the differentiation in the economic and social development of northern and southern Europe or with the problems of intellectual history centering around the emergence of a new concept of man. It is characteristic that the names of neither Huizinga nor Gentile appear in the bibliography. The opposition to the Burckhardt thesis as expressed in this book might have been something of a challenge twenty or thirty years ago. Now, when few accept the Burckhardt thesis in its pure form and, on the other hand, few deny that its opponents went beyond what can be reasonably maintained, a reiteration of the anti-Burckhardt thesis in quite general terms will have little impact on the progress of research in the history of the Renaissance.

Bryn Mawr College

FELIX GILBERT

## Modern European History

DIE NEUGESTALTUNG EUROPAS IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT: DIE KIRCHLICHEN UND STAATLICHEN WANDLUNGEN IM ZEITALTER DER REFORMATION UND DER GLAUBENSKÄMPFE. By *Gerhard Ritter*. (Berlin: Verlag des Druckhauses Tempelhof. 1950. Pp. 381.)

It is an important scholarly event when a historian of the stature of Professor Ritter narrates in his lively style and with his keen penetration the well-known story of the religious and political struggles of the sixteenth century. This account originally appeared in 1941 in the third volume of the *Neue Propyläenweltgeschichte*, replacing the sections contributed by Paul Joachimsen, Erich Marcks, and Walter Goetz for the earlier set. Whereas the handsome illustrative material of the original has been omitted, the text remains substantially the same. The chief changes consist of the addition of a section on the geographic discoveries and colonization at the beginning of the sixteenth century and an extensive annotated bibliography of sources and recent secondary works.

Like Ranke, Ritter concentrates upon the struggles of the rising national states as they influenced and were in turn influenced by the significant religious changes of the sixteenth century. The main theme of his book is the gradual dissolution of

the medieval and the emergence of the modern cultural system, which he traces in dramatic fashion. But in so doing he denies the older liberal point of view that the Renaissance and the Reformation were parallel movements of a gradual, inexorable emancipation of man from medieval bondage. Largely on the basis of his own widely recognized studies of late medieval scholasticism, humanism, protestantism, and political thought, he concludes that the Renaissance, in which the humanist enthusiasm was but one of many facets, stood in a closer relation than the Reformation to medieval culture with its constant contact with the culture of antiquity. The Reformation, on the other hand, he recognizes as primarily concerned with freeing theology from philosophy by circumventing the Middle Ages and returning to the theology of primitive Christianity. The Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Catholic Counter-Reformation, he maintains, were but phases of a general cultural change in Western civilization, the chief characteristic of which was the revolutionary emergence of a secularized and rational mode of thought which reached its height in the eighteenth century, when it tended to destroy all previous religious and historical authority.

This process of secularization and rationalization was most obvious in the growth of the territorial states, which had begun before the Reformation and demanded more of it than it could give in return. For this reason Ritter begins his account with the origins and early forms of the modern states, discusses the various reform movements as they were related to political history, and lays particular emphasis upon the outstanding political leaders of the century, of whom he gives us brilliant character sketches. Probably the most valuable contributions to our knowledge of the Reformation are made in his sections on the rise of Sweden as a Protestant world power and on the confessional conflicts in Germany from 1555 to 1618. He concludes that in 1618, as in 1914, the Europeans feared war and desired peace, but that the force of circumstances, the power-political conflicts inherent in the modern state system, overrode the will of the people.

Although Ritter places the religious movements in a secondary position, he by no means slights them, but brings his readers abreast of the most recent achievements of Reformation research. He also carefully weighs the impact of economic and social changes upon the development of religious and political ideas and institutions. Furthermore, he demonstrates his appreciation of the literary and artistic achievements of the period by frequent references to them as mirrors of the cultural changes which he ascertains in the religious and political events.

It is not surprising that Ritter, the author also of *Die Dämonie der Macht*, should be primarily concerned with those political forces which involved his country in two disastrous wars in his generation and at the same time found expression in the totalitarianism of National Socialism. His personal involvement in political affairs was climaxed by his imprisonment by the Gestapo in 1944 because of his association with Dr. Goerdeler in the resistance movement. American historians

may be more optimistic than he with respect to man's ability to master "the demonic forces" of modern history, but they cannot ignore his closely reasoned exposition of the beginnings of our modern state system.

*Ohio State University*

HAROLD J. GRIMM

SCANDINAVIA BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. Edited by *Henning Friis*, Adviser in Social Science to the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs. [Publication of the New School for Social Research.] (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1950. Pp. x, 388. \$4.50.)

A FLOOD of articles, pamphlets, and books appeared in the thirties describing the Scandinavian countries and lauding their modern adoption of a "middle way." But each tended to be concerned either with a single development, say collective bargaining, or with a single country. In the end, there appeared no satisfactory book-length survey on social developments in the North as a whole. Now the English reader has a single-volume survey of social Scandinavia in the twentieth century, at once comprehensive and authoritative. If any field is here under-represented it is political science. There might well have been separate chapters on the role of the state as monopolist and owner and on the individual as a citizen.

That the chapters in a collaborative effort should vary in emphasis is understandable. Those which close the story more or less with 1945—"Housing," "Producer and Consumer Cooperatives"—are reminiscent of the "middle way" summaries of the thirties. Others—"Social Welfare," "Adult Education," "The Labor Movement and Industrial Relations," "Cooperation between the Scandinavian Countries"—adding not a little to the years since 1945, seem throughout more fresh in their point of view. The most useful chapters are two which deal wholly with developments since 1945. Their concerns are with government planning and control and with the changing world economy. Both are by economists, Bjerve and Laursen, and both, more directly than the others, face the question: How long can Scandinavian social progress be sustained in the face of mounting global tensions?

Of most interest to historians are a chapter on foreign policy and another on cultural relations. That on foreign policy is a good introduction to the international relations of Scandinavia since 1914. The North Atlantic Pact is discussed at some length, but in the passages bearing on Sweden's refusal to join the pact lurks a note of hesitation or of reservation. Somewhat apart is the closing chapter, by Hovde—"We Americans and Scandinavia"—which outlines the flow and ebb of cultural relations since the eighteenth century. It is a subject fit for a book rather than a chapter pendent to such a volume as this.

In spite of the title, and of the vogue the "middle way" phraseology continues to enjoy, the position of Scandinavia is not intermediate. Its culture and its peo-

ples, as is here made clear, are of the West. The drift of the book's argument is best expressed in the last chapter, in which Scandinavia is referred to as one of "the strong outlying bastions of Western European civilization."

Some readers will regret that Finland and Iceland were not included in the survey. The documentation is uneven, good in some chapters, but wholly lacking in those of most interest to the historian. These also are poorest in bibliography. Very commendable is the inclusion of forty tables of statistical and political data; especially useful to historians are the tables on successive changes in party strengths and cabinet participations over the last two decades.

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

BRITISH DIARIES: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH DIARIES WRITTEN BETWEEN 1442 AND 1942. Compiled by *William Matthews*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1950. Pp. xxxiv, 339. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Matthews, who published five years ago an *Annotated Bibliography of American Diaries Written prior to 1861*, here performs a like service to Great Britain. It is the result of nearly twenty years of compilation which, beginning as a linguistic study, ended upon his own confession as a more general form of "bibliomania," a very amiable form, I hasten to add, and valuable to others. His preface gives a picture of what was apparently a shelf-by-shelf inspection in at least a dozen great libraries (Professor Matthews mentions with gentle regret that, of the four greatest in England, only one permitted this personal hunt) and a heroic amount of labor in the study of catalogues and lists: "about 2000 booksellers' catalogues" is no bad total by itself. He had intended originally, he tells us, to confine himself to published diaries but was tempted to extend his field (as in the case of the earlier work) to include as much unpublished material as he "could gather without too great expense of time," which involved further research in a score or so of great libraries in England and America and correspondence with about a thousand librarians in towns, universities, cathedrals, schools and learned societies, and with "city and county archives." The appearance of the last word at this point for the first time is, perhaps, a little significant, for diaries are unquestionably, in the usual circumstances of their preservation, archives; and Professor Matthews' natural predilection for libraries may have resulted, I fancy, in his missing some few items he would gladly have included from other sources. I think, for example, I am right in saying that except to invoke the aid of its guest, the National Register of Archives, he did not make use of the Public Record Office.

However, faced with the result of so much admirable and devoted toil, and (if I may say so) the revelation of an engagingly enthusiastic personality, the first task of a reviewer—and an English reviewer at that—is obviously to give thanks

and praise, which the present writer does very freely. A list of over 2000 British diaries (if my computation is correct) is here presented to us, in a very pleasant format, set out under years according to the beginning date of each. Within years we have an alphabetical arrangement of diarists' names followed generally by a description ("of Dublin," "Scholar and M.P.," "Physicist," and so forth); after this come a few lines of description of the diary, its covering dates and nature, and following those either its reference, if manuscript, or its title, etc., if printed, the last not aiming, I think, at bibliographical completeness where (the cases are not of common occurrence) there have been a large number of editions. This excellent layout is supplemented by an index of diarists' names and preceded by a list of diaries which cover ten or more years.

Obviously even Professor Matthews' industry had to have some restriction: he has excluded, he tells us, in addition to "parliamentary diaries and explorers' journals," "travel narratives which are not day-by-day records, chronicles, commonplace books, ships' logs [though not diaries kept at sea, which seem to me to have a significant personal element], reminiscences, autobiographies, minutes, accounts, muster rolls, memoirs, all of which are sometimes called journals by their editors and publishers." The omissions are all understandable if in some cases regrettable, but they raised in my mind the question whether the author was wise to include manuscript material at all. It has made the exclusion of certain classes (logs for instance, of which the Public Record Office alone possesses very many thousands) inevitable, whereas only a quite manageable number would have been found in print. If the work had suffered by the exclusion of certain no doubt very interesting manuscript material might it not perhaps have more than made up for this by an added richness and completeness and a more representative character? Incidentally Professor Matthews, while still dropping (as I am glad to see he has done) the attempt to maintain "the impossible distinction between 'diary' and 'journal,'" might have been able to solve for us, or come near to solving, the problem he has frankly abandoned of determining what is meant by *Jornale*, a word that has a long, interesting, and varied history. I think a little research in a wide selection of archives (even if confined to printed sources) might make possible a fuller definition than "a personal record of what interested the diarist, usually kept day by day." Another reason for excluding unpublished diaries would have been that the location of manuscript material is now proceeding, and we must hope will proceed, so fast that Professor Matthews' book may, as a reference work, become unreliable much sooner than it deserves; and on the same grounds I am inclined to regret the decision to bring it down to so late a date. I realize the lure of a round number of centuries but the result is that whereas 1842 is represented by twelve diaries 1942 produces only one and 1941 none at all. I will not say that this is misleading, for one can guess at the causes, but it means that the latter part of this bibliography will be out of date almost immediately.

These are small criticisms but I must in honesty record one which seems to me

more serious—there is no subject index, i.e., no means of reference even to the descriptions given of diarists, let alone those of their diaries. If the reader knows his diarist's name or date he can find readily what he requires. But the student who wishes to know what diaries there are of barons, bishops, or butchers; of Irishmen or Oxford Men; of Jews or justices of the peace (a most important class that last, by the way); of marines or mathematicians, Methodists, missionaries or musicians—the student who is moved by these or even more dateless and impersonal interests must read through a large part of the book every time he consults it. Our author has himself dealt with this omission, but I cannot agree with him that there is no form of subject index “that would be really useful”: in fact there are plenty of subject indexes which have dealt successfully with much more difficult problems; and to say that one was impossible here is to criticize (unjustifiably, I am sure) his presentation of his own material. I must submit that in this Professor Matthews has been not only unkind to his readers but unfair to himself and to his book, the usefulness of which as a work of reference is seriously impaired.

*Public Record Office, London*

HILARY JENKINSON

THE CROWN AND THE CROSS: A BIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS CROMWELL. By *Theodore Maynard*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1950. Pp. ix, 292. \$4.50.)

Dr. Theodore Maynard within the last three years has published three books dealing with the story of the break from Rome during the reign of Henry VIII of England. Of these, his life of Sir Thomas More is the only one in which his affections were deeply engaged. He is an Englishman by birth and a Roman Catholic by conversion. His life of Henry VIII and this life of Cromwell are both primarily concerned with the conflict between the king and the pope over the headship of the Church of England. In that conflict Dr. Maynard depicts Cromwell as the great champion of royal supremacy, but for political not religious reasons. Since Dr. Maynard's interest is focused upon the religious issue, those aspects of Cromwell's career of purely secular significance receive scant attention. Actually, Cromwell's chief claims to greatness are as an administrator in council, an astute politician in Parliament, a zealous promoter of England's commercial development, and a clever diplomat who kept England at peace with her neighbors during the perilous period immediately after the break from Rome when it seemed likely that Roman Catholic Europe would combine against her. But matters like these Dr. Maynard dismisses with little more than a shrug. To him all else in Cromwell fades into insignificance in comparison with his cardinal sin that he made wide the pathway for the English Reformation, which the good doctor describes as a religious and a social disaster. His final word takes form as follows: “No man ever deserved his death more than Cromwell did, but if real justice had been done, Henry should have gone with him to the scaffold.”



There is relatively little in the factual contents of this book with which the scholar will quarrel. It is without documentation, but it reveals constant reference to the abundant printed sources and wide reading in the obvious secondary works. His treatment of the Hunne case seems to me superficial and unsound, and he is wrong in saying that historians generally believe that Hunne committed suicide. The late Professor Pollard certainly did not think so. In his *Wolsey* he took exactly the same position that Mr. Ogle has taken more recently in *The Tragedy of the Lollard's Tower*. As to Sir Thomas More's opinion, though More was a great and a good man, he could be wrong, and he had a blind side whenever heresy was in question. And I think Dr. Maynard has accepted too readily Gasquet's views about the prevalence of an orthodox Bible in English before the Reformation. Here again Mr. Ogle's position seems to me more convincing. Finally, I could wish that Dr. Maynard had found a kinder adjective for Thomas Cranmer than "wheedling" (p. 128), a kinder attitude toward Hugh Latimer's martyrdom than that it was magnificent play acting (p. 215), or a kinder description of Ann Askew than "that truculent lady" (p. 240). Zeal for one's own faith does not necessarily involve the assumption that those who died for another faith were less sincere, less devoted, less heroic.

University of Pennsylvania

CONYERS READ

THE BRITISH OVERSEAS: EXPLOITS OF A NATION OF SHOPKEEPERS. By C. E. Carrington. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1950. Pp. xxi, 1092. \$9.00.)

THIS full-scale account of British expansion by the author of the brief *Exposition of Empire* is a solid narrative of more than a thousand pages. The volume was stimulated, so it is said, by wide travel and by the residence of relatives in all the Dominions. No area, tropical or temperate or arctic, is omitted. The account of India is particularly full, even for the pre-British period. The southern Dominions are handled at length, though there seems to be no reference to the fate of the Tasmanian aborigines or to the secession movement in western Australia. Africa receives very full attention, and the colonial wars have fuller treatment than is customary in a work of this kind.

A pleasant feature of the volume is the use of numerous vivid biographical sketches of the leading British actors on the imperial stage, giving reality to men such as Sir George Goldie, Sir Harry Smith, Thomas Waghorn, and many another. Much of this material, however, might better be placed in footnotes, and the book further shortened by the use of footnotes for the statistics that are found on every page. A large selection of well-chosen portraits is a welcome feature.

The sketch maps are excellent, though St. Thomas in the West Indies did not belong to the United States in 1814 (p. 237) and the capital of Newfoundland is St. John's (p. 37). Errors noticed in the reading are relatively few. D'Iberville (pp. 62, 71) should be d'Iberville. Two dates are given for the purchase of

Louisiana (pp. 245, 268). Imperial penny postage came into effect in 1898 with Sir W. Mulock not so much the "organizer" as the promoter (p. 571). Steamboats were in use before 1840 (p. 458), as the author says on another page. The Admiralty did not supervise the packet services until the time of Victoria, and there were regular services to the Continent long before 1689 (p. 464). Clive's "gratuity," I believe, was well over £200,000. Katanga is west, not east, of Nyasaland (p. 817).

The author seems both proud of the growth of the empire and regretful that the "British race" (?) has "ceased to expand." The harsh treatment of aboriginal populations is admitted in this record of the "exploits of a nation of shopkeepers," but the presence of "black sheep in the flock of pioneers" should not detract from solid achievements. In the opening up of Africa "it was natural for each Power to seek a profitable share," but the Dark Continent has been "lucky, as luck is estimated in the twentieth century" (p. 833). The volume might have been written from the standpoint of the climax of the new imperialism, for Kipling's name is found on many a page and Joseph Chamberlain receives much attention. The author declares that the Garvin biography of Chamberlain "established" his innocence of complexity in the Jameson raid and that Chamberlain disliked Cecil Rhodes and disapproved of his methods (p. 690). The "speculative finance" of Rhodes played a dominant part in opening southern Africa: only a "jaundiced view" cannot see the good that resulted. The author objects to the allegedly cynical views on the "export of British capital" of L. H. Jenks (not "E. H.") in a book with that title. The partition of Africa is held to be "rather above than below the average of international conduct." His nostalgic conclusion is that the British for several generations imposed the rule of law upon one quarter of mankind, "while they used its mighty influence for peaceful commerce among all nations" (p. 1036).

The volume is marred for serious students by an almost complete absence of footnote references where they are needed to answer the reader's queries. Nor is there a bibliography apart from a general acknowledgment, in the preface, of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*. It is hardly sufficient to recommend it "to those who wish to check my references." Despite these strictures, it is an interesting and comprehensive account of British activity overseas.

Oberlin College

HOWARD ROBINSON

BRITISH PRIME MINISTERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: POLICIES AND SPEECHES. By *Joseph Hendershot Park*. (New York: New York University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 377. \$4.75.)

THIS book presents selections, generally extracts, of speeches by Canning, Wellington, Peel, Palmerston, Disraeli, Gladstone, and Salisbury. Professor Park has supplied them with an introduction, biographical sketches of these statesmen, and introductions and footnotes for the speeches. Most of the material comes from

reports in *Hansard* and *The Times*; and the speeches chosen deal with British economic, political, and social problems, colonial and foreign affairs. An exception to this is an extract from Gladstone's rectorial address at Glasgow University, December 5, 1879, in which he discussed university training and advised his student audience, "I would urge and entreat you, gentlemen, to give a place, and that no mean place, in the scheme of your pursuits, to the study of human history" (p. 307).

With this sentiment historians will agree readily. They will also support Professor Park's observation that university students should become acquainted with "the teachings, the experiments, and the experiences of leaders who have faced a wide variety of problems." But some may not share his belief that the reasons for the views held by statesmen can best be learned from their public utterances. Nearly all the speeches he has selected for this book formed parts of debates in Parliament on controversial issues. The speakers attacked or defended some governmental action or policy. Every one of them may have spoken with absolute frankness and sincerity without deeming it necessary or expedient to reveal the basic reasons for arguing the way he did.

But though the material in this book may not always shed light on the inner motives of statesmen, it is of great value for the study of British history in the nineteenth century. Among the important points not generally discussed in history texts to which this collection draws attention are Peel's views on the position of the British prime minister, Disraeli's ideas concerning political rights and the influence of the crown in the government of Britain, and Gladstone's arguments in defense of the gold standard. Professor Park's remark that Palmerston "probably was not unmindful of British interests or what he conceived to be British interests" (p. 138) is a fine example of an understatement; and his account of Gladstone's conversion to liberalism is confusing. But taken as a whole, his sketches of the great British statesmen whose speeches he prints are clear and objective. They provide settings for material which supplies antidotes for much of the anti-British propaganda which at present endangers American co-operation with the British nations.

*University of Wisconsin*

PAUL KNAPLUND

LOUIS XIV ET L'EUROPE. By *Louis André*, Professeur honoraire de l'Université de Lille. [L'Evolution de l'Humanité, Collective, LXIV.] (Paris: Albin Michel. 1950. Pp. xxix, 395. 900 fr.)

IN this latest treatment of the relations of Louis XIV and Europe from 1661 to 1715 the late Professor André has analyzed admirably their many complexities. In order to clarify the motives behind Louis's policies and to show that the ruler alone made the final decisions, Professor André has supplemented his many secondary sources by an extensive use of the king's own *Memoirs*, *Letters*, and *In-*

*structions* and has supported their testimony with much material from other French and foreign contemporary sources.

Much of this book necessarily presents familiar material and traditional interpretations in greater detail. Its greatest originality lies in the author's avoidance of the bias and "moral" judgments which one encounters all too often in writings about Louis XIV and in his emphasis on certain aspects of the reign. For example, there were few preconceived principles which governed French foreign policy during this period, beyond the general ideas of "glory" and attendant expansionist reason of state (believed in both by the king and by his subjects), coupled with that moderation and prudence which formed so large a part of the king's character. Louis XIV's policy shifted several times because of changes in his own character, changes within the ranks of his advisers, and changes in circumstances over so long a period. The importance of circumstance is demonstrated repeatedly. Professor André emphasizes a most important characteristic of seventeenth century foreign policy: the constant use of diplomacy as an active instrument of state policy in peace and in war. Consideration of French internal political and economic strength, of the state of his armed forces, and of conditions in the other European states all helped Louis XIV to determine the methods and objectives of his diplomacy. Professor André's summary of the development of the French diplomatic service and sources of information and his description of the king's advisers are therefore particularly important.

At the end the author summarizes the condition of France and of Europe in 1715 (for purposes of comparison with the situation in 1661 as analyzed by Louis XIV in the *Memoirs*). Here he insists that while by 1715 France had lost her predominance of 1661 she was far from being as weak as often depicted. Nor did the War of the Spanish Succession bring political supremacy to England (compare the statements of Professor Bourgeois on this subject), although that country did obtain economic predominance.

Professor André's work brings additional detail, a much-needed synthesis, some reinterpretation, and a welcome historical attitude to the problem of describing and assessing Louis XIV and his foreign policy. An extensive bibliography arranged by countries is appended. This bibliography unfortunately has no critical comments. The system of Roman numeral footnote references is extremely inconvenient. A few typographical errors mar the work (e.g., pp. 84, 355).

This work is in my opinion essential to any student of the seventeenth century in France. It paints an excellent picture of the French monarchy in action and includes much useful information about other European states.

Wellesley College

JOHN HEWITT MITCHELL

LA RÉVOLUTION DES NOTABLES: MOUNIER ET LES MONARCHIENS, 1789. By *Jean Egret*, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1950. Pp. 244. 400 fr.)

IN his two prior publications, M. Egret gave a scholarly analysis of events in the "cradle of the Revolution," the Dauphiné (*Le Parlement de Dauphiné et les affaires publiques dans la deuxième moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Grenoble, 1942, 2 vols., thesis), and *Les derniers Etats de Dauphiné* (Grenoble, 1942, complementary thesis). The present volume begins with further development of Mounier's leadership of the liberal nobles in the Dauphiné beginning in June, 1788, and covers Mounier's role and the dilemma of these liberals until Mounier's emigration to Switzerland, May, 1790. Egret believes that Mounier was the outstanding leader of the movement for national unity in June, 1789, and describes the rise of Mounier and his group and their losing battle to maintain ascendancy in the National Assembly. This is much more than a biography, however. When the volumes now in preparation under the direction of M. Georges Lefebvre are published, the task of constructing the meetings of the National Assembly prior to November, 1789, from newspaper accounts and biographical sources will be immeasurably shortened. M. Egret has made a thorough study of this material and achieved an admirable synthesis. His bibliography also is valuable far beyond the limits of the period or subject treated.

As the title implies, M. Egret accepts a revolt of the nobles as the first phase of the Revolution, and this volume throws new light upon its leadership, its aims, its achievements, and the reasons for its declining role in the face of more democratic groups. According to Egret, part of the secret of Mounier's early leadership lay in his superior mastery of parliamentary technique. His waning influence and that of his following are explained by his doctrinaire adherence to principles, the split between Barnave and Mounier (the two leaders from the Dauphiné), disaffection in the Dauphiné itself, presaged in 1788-89, and the fact that the program that appeared moderate in June, 1789, was closer to conservatism after the events of August through October, 1789. Mounier and his followers were staunch monarchists, and viewed with alarm, as antimonarchist and republican, any more democratic reforms. Furthermore, they distrusted the common people and were unable to rally their support. Discouraged with developments in Paris, Mounier returned to the Dauphiné and tried to arouse his province in defense of his ideas, which had already been discredited in the National Assembly. This was a particularist appeal, similar to the Girondist four years later, doomed to failure in face of the national unification culminating in the Fête of the Federation.

This volume transcends the interest in the career of Mounier, and, by providing a pathway through the tangled history of the National Assembly, gives important material and interpretation on the parliamentary groups in 1789. Like *Quatre vingt neuf* by Lefebvre, this volume demonstrates the whole era of the Revolution in its first year. M. Egret's synthesis has all the finest qualities of the best French historical tradition: smoothness, clarity, logical sequence, and cogent conclusion. It is to be hoped that Egret will not only continue his researches and

throw light upon the *émigrés* by tracing Mounier's activity in exile but also pursue further the issue of monarchism in the National Assembly.

*Hunter College*

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

PIERRE VERGNIAUD: VOICE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Claude G. Bowers. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1950. Pp. xiii, 535. \$6.50.)

To this first study in English on Vergniaud, the Girondin leader, Claude Bowers brings rich experience as journalist, ambassador, and writer of American history. He also brings the conviction that "Vergniaud alone was the authentic interpreter of a sane and functional democracy" in Revolutionary France. Vergniaud stood for what Mr. Bowers believes in—representative government, free debate, freedom of speech and religion, and free private enterprise. In defense of these principles Vergniaud stood courageously against the Revolutionary government of 1793, led by Robespierre. Men reared within the Western liberal tradition would probably, in most cases, agree with most of Mr. Bowers' values; at the same time it is equally clear to most students of the French Revolution that Vergniaud and the Girondins did not command the support of the French nation by the spring of 1793.

This was true because the Girondins were incapable of translating their principles into a practical program of government. They failed to devise a working program to defeat the European coalition and simultaneously forge the Revolution—the Revolution not simply of the upper bourgeoisie but also of the peasantry and the city workers. Girondism (and Vergniaud) became associated with rule of the select against the interests of the majority. There is much basis in fact for this association. Girondism became closely connected with royalism (and treason) by its blind support of General Dumouriez, a royalist general who went over to the enemy à la Benedict Arnold. Girondism was slow to mobilize the nation and to fix controls over goods and wages in an inflationary period. In short Girondin conduct of the war and Revolution did not instill confidence in the majority of French minds and hearts, albeit those same minds and hearts might agree with Mr. Bowers and endorse "sane functional democracy." The France of 1792–1794 was, however, a time when that formula was somewhat inapplicable. It was a time of emergency, as was the moment when Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus.

In any case the Girondins lost control of the government, and some of the leaders, including Vergniaud, lost their lives. Naturally this tragic end bothers Mr. Bowers and many others who endorse the Girondin program. Does it justify the complete condemnation of the Revolutionary government which assumed control in a desperate situation, defeated the coalition, and was responsible for such changes as the land reforms? Does it allow the judgment that Robespierre "was



something more or less than human and in a constant state of fermentation," while Vergniaud, like the old Bordeaux of his constituency, was not? If Mr. Bowers could muster good evidence, given the conditions of 1793-1794, to sustain such a judgment, we could all happily agree. But he does not. He makes a slight assault upon the work of Mathiez, pausing to snipe a bit at Gottschalk. *La vie chère*, perhaps Mathiez' best bastion, is unknown to Bowers. Relying upon the royalist historian, Barente, the author tells us that the Jacobins in 1791 hinted at destruction of the social order and would lower and destroy everything above them. Even if this were true, not so much was above them if Crane Brinton's analysis of the social structure of the Jacobins holds true. But Mr. Bowers does not know any of Brinton's work. This is not so surprising as the statement twice made (pp. 12 and 310) that the slaves were freed in the French colonies at this time, or the view that Louis XVI did not want war in 1792 (p. 153). It was Charlotte Corday who stabbed Marat, not Robespierre, as pages 164-65 might imply. Mr. Bowers either does not know or refuses to believe the literature in defense of the Revolutionary government. His judgments seem not to have examined the alternatives. On the other hand the material on which the criticism of the Revolutionary government is based is often taken uncritically from royalist sources or Girondin memoirs. When Mr. Bowers writes about Robespierre, he is thinking of Vergniaud's head in the basket.

It was a good head, and Mr. Bowers' sympathy is understandable because he is emotionally aligned with Vergniaud. In the tradition of good biographers Mr. Bowers has uncovered new papers and handles his material skillfully.

Northwestern University

RICHARD M. BRACE

RUSSIA'S EDUCATIONAL HERITAGE. By *William H. E. Johnson*, Supervisor of Teacher Education, Carnegie Institute of Technology. (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Press, Carnegie Institute of Technology. 1950. Pp. xvi, 351. \$5.00.)

THIS study of Russian education unintentionally suggests a parallel between the historiographies of the French and Russian revolutions. Historians of the French Revolution first saw it as a complete break with Bourbon days. In the second stage, they saw it as carrying on the same general tendencies of Louis XIV. Both stages exaggerated their half-truths, and a third stage has tried to assess old and new in France with a more rigorous precision. In the historiography of the Russian Revolution, we are entering stage two, and the present book's motto might well have been Talleyrand's "*plus ça change, plus de la même chose.*"

Some reviewers, accepting Johnson's facts, have questioned his generalizations, which stress the resemblance between tsarist and Stalinist education. Here is broad margin for honest disagreement, as we have not yet the same perspective toward Bolsheviks as toward Jacobins. Except for the 1905-17 section, this reviewer rarely feels Johnson's tsarist-Stalinist analogies excessive but sympathizes with qualms of

less favorable reviewers because it is a sound book within a very unsound trend: the unscholarly trend of explaining modern Russian history by superficial analogies. A recent popular work, explaining Stalin wholly by Ivan the Terrible, shows the danger of pushing to absurdity the perfectly valid parallel between both tyrants. But the present book should not be made to suffer for the sins of extremists in its camp. Surely its following typical examples of parallels are not far-fetched but plausible:

On the question of private schools, however, the Soviet Union has carried to complete success the aim of several tsarist rulers and officials. No private institution of learning is permitted to exist in Russia today; all such agencies are operated by one branch or another of the government, . . . Over a period of 300 years of tsarist history, foreigners held a very tenuous position: in one decade they would be welcomed . . . in the next, spurned. . . . Much the same oscillation has characterized the Soviet attitude toward foreigners, and the pendulum has swung from the proffer of enormous salaries . . . to the present reaction bordering upon xenophobia. From its own citizens the Soviet government now demands a degree of political loyalty which is astonishingly similar to the religious orthodoxy required in previous ages. The Soviet teacher today must subscribe as devotedly to the aims and practices of the State as did the instructor at the Moscow Academy in the 17th century. . . . Peter I stressed the authority of the teacher; and, although this view was spurned in the early years of the Soviet regime, it has now achieved complete acceptance. . . .

Like many historians impatient with "the inevitability of gradualness," Johnson minimizes the very promising progress toward Russian freedom being made by evolution just when revolution (1917) cut it short. Unlike the earlier absolutism, the constitutional tsarist period after 1905 in the universities, though sometimes inevitably still despotic, was evolving a relative freedom which the author could more accurately have compared with our parliamentary west than with the Soviet's incomparably stricter thought-control. But Johnson's parallels do hold true for the darker tsarist periods. It is the educational theories of precisely the most reactionary segment of tsarist educators which the Soviet practice resembles. The resemblance between both is shown in distrust of free informal discussion as a teaching method and the preference for rigid formalized lectures, with students forced to adhere to the official line of the professor, who in turn survives solely by adhering to the central party-line.

Johnson's footnotes show a serviceable familiarity with a wide gamut of primary sources. These he supplements with his own unique eyewitness experiences as a teacher inside Russia during 1934-37. A disproportionately long appendix of tables (pp. 263-98) includes indispensable tables on literacy and school statistics. The appendix also includes dispensable tables of less valuable statistics, which look impressively scientific but add little to this useful and partly important book.

*Mt. Holyoke College*

PETER VIERECK

THE AMERICAN IMPACT ON RUSSIA: DIPLOMATIC AND IDEOLOGICAL, 1784-1917. By Max M. Laserson. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1950. Pp. xii, 441. \$5.00.)

A CONSTITUTIONAL history of the Russian Empire in English is a primary lack for those who seek to understand and teach the government of the Russian Empire. In the guise of an engaging account of the impact upon Russians of political ideas emanating from Americans, Professor Laserson has written a book which goes far to provide such a constitutional history. Teachers will still require the Russian language texts of Korkunov and Lazarevsky, but they will now have something to assign their students along with Leroy-Beaulieu's *The Empire of the Tsars* and Vernadsky's various brief discussions of the subject.

Much more is treated in the book than constitutional history, for there is much biography and an extensive account of Russian-American foreign relations. Since much of this material is already familiar through Foster Rhea Dulles' *Road to Teheran* or Sorokin's treatment of the subject, the Laserson account is interesting primarily as a refreshing review. The book is consequently likely to be hailed primarily for the light it throws on the adoption by forward and usually unsuccessful Russian thinkers of American ideas concerning restraint upon tyranny.

Nowhere else in English is there as ample a statement of the constitutional thinking of the Decembrists and of Alexander I and his advisers. Laserson draws the conclusion that the steps could not be other than faltering because there was no middle class in the Russia of Catherine II and Alexander I ripe to perceive and apply the liberal doctrines of men such as Radishchev, who were spinning the American myth. Laserson finds that the tragedy of Russia is in the fact that Radishchev made his efforts too early, while the Russian bourgeoisie as the kernel of the nation emerged too late.

George Kennan receives the belated praise due him for his study of Russia. Professor Laserson believes that the future of the Provisional Government might have been different, had Kennan headed or at least accompanied the Root Mission, for Laserson thinks Root woefully uninformed in a situation which required skillful handling by a man who knew Russian currents. Laserson also criticizes for his ignorance of Russian political thought the last United States ambassador and reaches the conclusion that embassies need political attachés, "men who not only know the country but are thoroughly familiar with its political conditions, movements and aims." Many will say Amen to this expression of wisdom and hail the present program of area training for Department of State specialists. In the future some, at least, will know the direction and extent of Russian political thought and the extent to which American ideas can expect to find reception.

Columbia University

JOHN N. HAZARD

SOVIET POLITICS: THE DILEMMA OF POWER, THE ROLE OF IDEAS IN SOCIAL CHANGE. By Barrington Moore, Jr. [Russian Research Center

Studies, No. 2.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xviii, 503. \$6.00.)

THIS new study published under the auspices of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, addresses itself to the question "which of the prerevolutionary Bolshevik ideas have been put into effect in the Soviet Union, which ones set aside and why? Secondly, what can we learn from the historical experience about the role of ideas in general." In the pursuit of his theme the author ranges over a wide variety of problems of internal and foreign Soviet policy, and organization of the Soviet state, paying due attention to the well-known "contrast between the aims and the methods of Bolshevism."

He marshals a great deal of information and writes with ease and skill. The tone of the book is scholarly and objective throughout. In fact the author strives so hard to be objective that in the process he falls into a curious sort of amorality, as when he states, for instance, that "I see no scientific warrant for a crusade against political vice in the name of political virtue on either side of the so-called Iron Curtain." The main conclusion is sound: "After Lenin's death, and after severe internecine struggles, his goals of discipline and hierarchical subordination have come close to their realization. The means have been largely realized, but the end of control by the masses over their political and economic destiny seems about as far away as ever."

It is a merit of the book that, while the author naturally is concerned with the contemporary Soviet era, he does not treat the period before November, 1917, as a sort of historical vacuum as do so many writers dealing with present-day Russia. Mr. Moore is seriously interested in the question of how Bolshevism achieved power, and he undertakes a brief excursion into prerevolutionary Russian history. However, those familiar with this period will detect some errors. The author, for instance, speaks of a major wave of peasant uprisings between 1881 and 1888, which did not occur. Perhaps the author has in mind the period immediately following the emancipation of peasants from serfdom in 1861. Again he states that "together with a portion of the less radical intellectuals, who tended to take over the actual leadership, the liberal gentry rather than the urban middle classes formed the backbone of the short-lived Constitutional Democratic Party. . . ." The first part about the small liberal element of the gentry is true, but it is incorrect to minimize the contribution of the urban middle classes to the Kadet party. For how else can one explain its unvarying successes in the Duma (parliamentary) elections in the middle-class constituencies of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and other large cities.

More serious it seems to me, is the author's neglect, in discussing alternatives to Bolshevism, of the role played by the agrarian and older current of Russian Socialism, the *Narodnichestvo* or Populism. With the strong support among peasants and democratic intelligentsia and a working alliance with the democratic

wing of the Marxists (the Mensheviks), Populism was a real contestant with Bolshevism on the Russian political scene in 1917. Whatever its socialist theories it acted in practice as a champion of peasant democracy in the predominantly agrarian Russia of the time—a peasant democracy which was to be a socio-economic counterpart of a political democracy of the Western type. This peasant democracy, (call it democratic capitalism or by any other name) had, I think, better prospects of survival after the overthrow of tsarism as a result of the democratic revolution in March, 1917, than the author or many other writers have allowed. That Lenin and his friends succeeded in stifling this budding democratic regime in those critical times, is less startling today in the light of the experience of Italy, Germany, Spain, and even France, where democracy and representative government with older roots in the national soil also succumbed during a crisis to totalitarianism.

I also must dissent at many points from the author's interpretation of Soviet foreign policy in which he overstresses the balance of power doctrine. But any disagreement is tempered by a grateful feeling that it was not a dull book to review.

Washington, D. C.

LAZAR VOLIN

BISMARCK: DER MENSCH UND DER STAATSMANN. By *Arnold Oskar Meyer*, with an Introduction by *Hans Rothfels*. (Stuttgart: K. F. Koehler Verlag. 1949. Pp. 792. DM 16.50.)

THIS biography, the culmination of a life-time study, is more a portrait of the author and an anachronistic pattern of German thought than a portrait of Bismarck. The pattern is that of the conservative in the reign of William II whose thought-processes centered around the trinity of Kaiser, Fatherland, and the Lutheran God. The work, in fact, gives the impression of a final act of piety performed at the altar of the old imperial Germany by a man who outlived the age which was most congenial to him and who found in republican and Nazi Germany little but disillusionment. Nowhere does the cold breath of doubt chill the warmth of Meyer's eulogy. There is, in fact, a curious identity in outlook between subject and author. For Meyer, the Bismarck legend was apparently a living, personal faith.

Meyer's interpretation is in strong contrast to that of Erich Eyck, whose three-volume biography of Bismarck was being written about the same time, for publication in Switzerland. To Meyer, the conservative, Bismarck is the heroic embodiment of Germanic virtue, but to Eyck, the liberal, he is the evil genius of modern German history. In his introduction Hans Rothfels states that Meyer's work supplies "*ein wohltätiges Gegengewicht*" to that of Eyck. Two unbalanced interpretations, however, do not make a balanced one. As yet there is not in print a

Bismarck biography written from the moderate, objective standpoint of the non-partisan.

Although the author held a professorship in the University of Berlin under the Nazi regime, his volume is, as Rothfels asserts, relatively free from the pervading influence of National Socialist ideology. Bismarck's disapproval of the anti-Semitic aspect of the Christian Socialist movement of Adolf Stöcker is related, for example, as well as his esteem for Lassalle and Disraeli. The Nazi censor could hardly have objected, however, to Meyer's admiration for such Bismarck characteristics as his "*Wille zur Macht*," "*Wille zum Kampf*," "*Instinkt für die Hebel der Macht*." If Meyer is to be given credit for an interpretation which was "*männlich-kompromisslos*" in the opinion of Rothfels, it is necessary to recognize the position from which compromise was refused. Meyer represents that school of German conservatism which, although it did not accept the revolutionary faith of National Socialism, was joined to it by the bond of a common hatred of the Weimar Republic. The degree of compromise demanded of a Meyer, in short, was far less than that demanded of an Eyck.

Aside from its partiality, Meyer's interpretation suffers from other serious inadequacies. Following the earlier line of interpretation developed by Sybel and Marcks, the author failed to incorporate the results of the important monographs which were published in the twenties. These include the brilliant studies by Rothfels himself, as well as those of such other researchers as Holborn and Zechlin. Bismarck's primary orientation was the state rather than the nation or *Volck*; he was not a *Realpolitiker* pure and simple, unguided by a general political philosophy or basic principles of political technique; he did possess a cosmopolitan view of the European state system with reference to which he shaped German foreign policy and sought to influence the policies of other states. These are, in brief, the conclusions which Meyer has neither accepted nor refuted. His interpretation of Bismarck's world-view—that struggle is the law of life and the creative principle in a divine world order—is an oversimplification of the workings of a very complex mind. The main focus of the work is on the events leading up to the founding of the Reich, the period which Meyer believed would be the most instructive to a Germany at war. In this period also the author of *Bismarck's Kampf mit Österreich* was most at home. But it is also the period in which the most thorough Bismarck research has already been done. The internal policy of Bismarck after 1862, the field which has suffered the greatest neglect by researchers, is only sketchily developed.

The Koehler Verlag has persisted in the publication of the volume despite serious difficulties. The first printing was destroyed during an Allied bombing attack on Leipzig in 1943. Following Meyer's death in 1944, a second printing was prepared including an appended note on the author by Wilhelm Schüssler. The end of the war came before this edition could be published, although a very few copies seem to have reached the public. Further complications in postwar Ger-



which aside from its intrinsic absurdity, does not prepare either the author or the reader to understand the singular role of the peasant in the Italian socialist movement, a role, by the way, that proved upsetting to many a pedestrian follower of Marx?

Mr. Hilton-Young may be entitled to any views regarding anarchists that he chooses to hold, but *qua* historian, and to boot of the Italian Left, he is not entitled to denigrate them as "fire-eating anarchists" (p. 27), who, at one point, "returned to their obscure lives of bomb-throwing" (p. 28), thus capriciously blinding himself to the part they played in the development of the socialist movement. Incidentally, he does not mention Malatesta, whose name is known even to those with a semiliterate knowledge of Italian leftism.

Even allowing for the author's prejudices and his failure to master or utilize primary sources and valuable secondary works, he has made an unnecessary number of inaccurate, questionable, or misleading statements. For example: It was not Crispi who "joined Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance" (p. 32). Was it "largely an adolescent mob that took Italy to war in 1915" (p. 94)? Neither Treves nor Bombacci were editors of *Avanti!* at the time indicated by the author (pp. 63, 104). Matteotti's family was not quite "humble" (p. 134). Does fascism really mark "the beginning of modern totalitarianism in the world" (p. 139)? Have "all Italians" recognized Sforza as the "first instinctive anti-fascist" (p. 141)? Ignazio Silone did not become a Democratic Socialist after the last war (p. 150) but after he had been expelled from the Italian Communist party some twenty years ago. Francesco Fausto Nitti is not a son of the former prime minister (p. 152). On the same page Parri is described as "surely one of the most remarkable Prime Ministers who ever governed a modern state"! Nenni, the leader of the current pro-Communist Socialist party, receives considerable attention, yet nothing is said about his connection with the Fascist movement in 1919. De Bosis, though not a socialist, stands out more clearly than Serrati, one of the most important socialist leaders during the First World War and its aftermath. The "anti-fascist" past of an individual now active in the Democratic Socialist ranks is recorded, but not a word is said of his former Communist affiliations. Undue emphasis is placed on the alleged "over-meticulous clarity of the Latin mind" as a factor in socialist politics.

Perhaps our observations and strictures might be kept in mind by Mr. Hilton-Young in the event that he should prepare a second edition of his work. Meanwhile, in view of the great importance of Italian leftism and socialism in the contemporary world crisis, a critical and wide-awake reader might well profit from a perusal of the book in its present form, particularly where it deals with the more recent vicissitudes of those movements.

*Queens College*

GAUDENS MEGARO

STORIA DELLA QUESTIONE D'ORIENTE. By *Francesco Cognasso*, Professore di Storia Medievale nell'Università di Torino. (Turin: R. Pezzani & C. 1948. Pp. 720. L. 2000.)

ALTHOUGH Professor Cognasso holds a chair in medieval history and has perhaps made his most distinguished contributions to scholarship in the Byzantine field, the present work deals with the "eastern question" from the mid-sixteenth century to 1945. It is a revised and greatly expanded version of the author's lectures on the subject, first published in 1934. The first 45 pages carry the reader to the Peace of Karlowitz; 55 more take him through to the end of the eighteenth century; the remaining 558 deal in detail with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are two final chapters on the Balkans and the Levant between the wars and during World War II. Designed to introduce a student to the range of problems created by the existence of the Ottoman Empire, the book seems to this reviewer to be open to severe adverse criticism on at least three important grounds: the treatment is almost exclusively diplomatic; the presentation has a strongly Italian nationalist bias; and the documentation is entirely inadequate and extremely careless.

It is of course true that the author's interest is chiefly in diplomacy and that he has set out to tell in some detail of the negotiations, overt and secret, of the wars, the treaties, the shifting alliances and alignments which punctuate the history of the eastern question. Yet surely the foreign policy of any given power at any given period is based on what its rulers conceive to be the national interest; and this is comprehensible only in terms of the political, social, and economic character of the country's internal life. Should not the writer of diplomatic history account for a power's foreign policy, to some degree at least, in terms of its domestic development? Failure to do so makes Cognasso's book dull, confusing, and unreal: the powers great and small appear as so many puppets without characteristics of their own, mechanically shifting their diplomatic positions in a perpetual and meaningless minuet. Cognasso might almost as well have given them numbers or other arbitrary labels. Mussolini and Hitler, for example, simply appear at the appropriate moments at the head of the Italian and German governments. Their diplomatic activities with regard to southeast Europe are catalogued as if there had never been a Fascist or a National Socialist movement which interpreted Italian and German national interests in a new way. King Alexander of Yugoslavia dies (p. 625); but the reader is not told that he was assassinated by a Macedonian terrorist in the employ of a Croat separatist movement, or that the Italian and Hungarian governments were involved, or indeed that there was an internal nationality problem in Yugoslavia and a heated debate between the proponents of a centralized regime and those of a federal system, or even that there was a Macedonian problem. Treated apart from its essential background, diplomatic history has little meaning.

In his preface Cognasso declares that the publication of his work is an act of

faith in the rebirth of the Italian fatherland, whose tricolor will once more fly in the Levant when national sentiment shall again have crystallized. Italian claims to the Dodecanese are upheld (p. 602); the creation of Yugoslavia after the First World War is regarded as primarily an anti-Italian act by Britain and France. In fact the entire postwar settlement is treated (p. 605) as "*il programma egemonico franco-inglese*," and Cognasso regards these powers with bitter antipathy (e.g., p. 632). It is not surprising then that the Italian bombardment of Corfu in August, 1923, is justified (p. 609), and that Mussolini's later adventures are very gently handled: the invasion of Ethiopia was "imprudent" (p. 634); the attack on Albania was "ill-advised" (p. 638). The Italian invasion of Greece in 1940 is regarded as having been undertaken solely to prevent the formation of a Balkan front against the Axis (p. 646); there is no indication of the pro-German orientation of Metaxas before the invasion. The Yugoslav revolt of March, 1941, is described as having been perpetrated by "a military faction devoted to London" (p. 647), with no recognition that there was a wave of national sentiment against the Axis. Although the warped interpretations to which Cognasso has been led by his nationalism are perhaps more striking in the later portion of the work, they are in evidence in the earlier portions as well.

Cognasso has not annotated his book, but has supplied it with a 28-page chapter-by-chapter bibliography, which must be pronounced entirely unsatisfactory. All books in non-Western languages are omitted, and very few primary works are cited; the author has relied on secondary works in French, German, English, and Italian. Many standard books, especially those which have appeared since 1934, are absent: thus the valuable contributions of Babinger, Wittek, Köprülü, and Arnakis to Ottoman history are not mentioned, nor are the works, for example, of Gavin Henderson, C. E. Black, and H. Wendel among many others. There is no bibliography at all for the period since 1919, nor is there any evidence in these chapters that the author has consulted the works of Gafencu, Dallin, Hugh Seton-Watson, and others who have written on the subject. A hasty count discloses more than fifty misprints and other errors in the names of authors and the titles of books, some of them likely to mislead a student (e.g., I. Rose Holland for J. Holland Rose). Many of these errors are carried over from the earlier version of the work.

Harvard University

ROBERT LEE WOLFF

LE ORIGINI DEL PATTO D'ACCIAIO. By Mario Toscano. [Biblioteca della "Rivista di studi politici internazionali" in Firenze, Serie seconda: I.] (Florence: G. C. Sansoni. 1948. Pp. 207.)

PROFESSOR Toscano, now serving as historical adviser to the ministry of foreign affairs at Rome, has written extensively on Italian diplomacy in World War I and more recently has familiarized Italian readers with the diplomatic materials on

World War II made available by the American and British governments in their war crimes investigations and other official publications.

This monograph on the "Origins of the Pact of Steel" is an elaboration of an article with the same title which was published in 1947 in the *Rivista di studi politici internazionali*. Quite correctly Elizabeth Wiskemann used the article considerably in those parts of her more extensive work, *The Rome-Berlin Axis* (Oxford, 1949), in which she covers the same period. The monograph is based on a thorough exploitation of: (1) documents published as a result of the war crimes trials at Nuremberg and Tokyo; (2) Italian, French, German, and English memoirs; (3) documents from the archives of the Italian ministry of foreign affairs.

The author begins with the proposals in the autumn of 1938 for a triple alliance of Germany, Italy, and Japan. In his second chapter he deals with the negotiations, November, 1938–February, 1939, for such a triple alliance, and the third chapter recounts the decline of the tripartite negotiations. Chapter iv describes the birth of the Italo-German alliance in the conference of Ciano and Ribbentrop at Milan in the first week of May and gives an extensive analysis (pp. 154–64) of Mussolini's motives in entering it. Chapter v recounts the signing of the pact and the mission of General Ugo Cavallero to Berlin with the memorandum by which Mussolini emphasized that Italy required three years of peace before she could take part in a general conflict.

For the most part the author lets his carefully documented facts speak for themselves, but the light-heartedness of Mussolini and Ciano in accepting the German draft is quite apparent, as is the conscientious work of Attolico, ambassador at Berlin, restricted though it was by his professional position. The study recounts the successive efforts by Mussolini, and their failures, to define the objectives of the alliance and to delimit the respective spheres of expansion of Germany and Italy. Quite as unsuccessful were the efforts by the Italians to make the terms of the treaty or their statements to the Germans serve to retard the speed of Hitler's aggressive march.

Washington, D. C.

HOWARD McGAW SMYTH

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918–1945: FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTRY. Series D (1937–1945), Volume III, GERMANY AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, 1936–1939. [Department of State Publication 3838.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1950. Pp. xcvi, 951. \$3.25.)

In their general introduction to this series, the editors warn prospective readers that, in National Socialist Germany, Hitler did not always take professional diplomats into his confidence and that, consequently, their correspondence does not always reflect the actual policy of the state. It is to be imagined that this was especially true of Germany's policy in Spain, which was the product of many

and competing agencies. Nevertheless, provided they are careful in using it, historians will find this volume of German diplomatic correspondence on the Spanish war both interesting and informative. To a greater extent than any other existing source, these documents explain the circumstances of the German intervention in Spain, the forms it took, and the rewards which the Germans expected it would bring.

There is no evidence here that Hitler was consulted by the Spanish rebels before the outbreak of the conflict. The editors explain that the first suggestions of German support of the revolt seem to have been made by members of the National Socialist party's *Auslandsorganisation* who came to Berlin in the last days of July, 1936, with a personal letter from Franco to Hitler, requesting planes and other assistance. After talks in which Goering played a prominent part, German promises of assistance were obtained; and two corporations were founded to carry on the necessary operations—Hisma, Ltda., which began the transport of rebel troops from Morocco to Spain as early as August 2, 1936, and Rowak, which was organized with Goering's assistance to handle the transportation of raw materials from Germany to Spain. These companies played an important role throughout the war, and Hisma's attempt to arrogate to itself political functions caused frequent conflicts with the foreign office, which are spelled out in detail in the documents.

From the beginning, the foreign office was dubious about the Spanish adventure and was determined to limit German involvement as far as possible; and in this desire it seems to have been supported by the army high command. After the formal recognition of the Franco regime in November, 1936, a retired general, Faupel, was appointed head of the diplomatic mission to Franco's government. Faupel very quickly came to the conclusion—as he reported in December (p. 159)—that Franco's "military training and experience do not fit him for the direction of operations on their present scale" and that victory could be expected only if Germany made a considerable military commitment on the peninsula. This attitude worried and annoyed the foreign office, whose chiefs feared German embarrassment in the event of a determined effort on the part of the Western Powers to limit the scope of the war (pp. 168, 222, 226); and it probably worried the high command also, since responsible military leaders were afraid of dissipating Germany's military resources, which were still too weak to stand any protracted strain. There is some indication that the foreign office and the army, having established cordial working relations in Spanish matters in December, 1936 (p. 149), co-operated not only in resisting Faupel's importunate demands but also in undermining his position with Franco. In any event, when Faupel was recalled in August, 1937 (p. 434), the soldiers and the diplomats seemed equally satisfied.

In general, German policy was as cautious as the foreign office desired, and it followed the line suggested by Ulrich von Hassell in December, 1936, when he

wrote (p. 172): "We should let Italy take the lead in her Spanish policy, but . . . we ought simultaneously to accompany this policy with so much active good will as to avoid a development which might be prejudicial to Germany's direct or indirect interests, whether it be in the form of a defeat for Nationalist Spain or in the nature of a direct Anglo-Italian understanding." For political and for materialistic reasons the Germans welcomed extensive Italian commitments in Spain, although this did not prevent their taking malicious pleasure in such Italian disasters as that at Guadalajara; their own military aid they seem to have kept as low as was prudent. Even so, German support was extensive enough to tide Franco over some very critical moments, and the Germans expected that this would be recognized and that Franco would repay them with concrete economic advantages.

Franco, however, was a singularly ungrateful man, and the German attempt to force him into binding political and economic agreements was a protracted and frustrating business, the details of which offer the only comic relief in this somber volume. Franco's decree of June, 1938, limiting foreign participation in Spanish mines to a maximum of 40 per cent infuriated the Germans, who were especially interested in Spanish copper and iron (pp. 674 ff., 679). And, even when unexpected reverses forced Franco to modify the decree so that he might secure additional German aid (p. 802), he was able to escape his creditors in the end. The outbreak of the European war in 1939 prevented the Germans from building upon the economic foundations they had laid in Spain during the civil conflict; and in 1940 Hitler was glumly observing that "when Germany now requested payment of the 400 million Spanish Civil War debt, this was often represented by the Spaniards as a tactless mixing of economic and ideal considerations" (p. 932).

The documents which deal with the work of the Committee on Nonintervention make unhappy reading. The Germans early came to the conclusion that the British and French governments were more interested in preserving the existence of the committee than in insisting that it accomplish anything; and unfortunately the Western Powers did nothing to alter that opinion. Ribbentrop reported from London on July 4, 1937, that "England desires peace, as does France also; . . . neither of them will push things to the limit. We can continue to count on this as an absolutely certain factor and can make our future decisions without being influenced or disturbed" (p. 393). The varied tactics of obstruction and delay used by the Axis partners during the committee's meetings are discussed frankly and at length in these papers; and it is made evident that the German and Italian representatives had considerable skill in maneuvering the Russians into a position of having to accept responsibility for the sabotage of the committee's work.

The volume includes some interesting reports on the extent of Soviet aid to Loyalist Spain, including one from Count Schulenburg in Moscow which suggests (pp. 713 ff.) that the Soviet Union intervened in the Spanish War originally with



great reluctance and principally because of pressure on the part of Communist parties in western Europe and that it began to liquidate its effort in Spain almost a year before the war came to an end.

Princeton University

GORDON A. CRAIG

## Far Eastern History

FOOD AND MONEY IN ANCIENT CHINA: THE EARLIEST ECONOMIC HISTORY OF CHINA TO A.D. 25 (HAN SHU 24, WITH RELATED TEXTS, HAN SHU 91 AND SHIH-CHI 129). Translated and Annotated by Nancy Lee Swann. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xiii, 482, plates. \$10.00.)

THE section of the *Han Shu* selected for translation, "Shih Huo Chih," rendered as "A Treatise on Food and Money," has special contemporary relativity. To the economic historian, the pattern of the ancient Chinese world exhibits strikingly modern features in the struggle between bureaucratic and proprietary interests. Broad attempts at the imposition of far-reaching government controls over economic resources in a vast area already comprising a huge population anticipate measures adopted for the solution of problems in similarly congested modern societies. The chronological arrangement of the two-part treatise translated presents China's evolution as found in extant literary records throughout pre-Han times or prior to 206 B.C. and ending with the restoration of the House of Han in A.D. 25.

Introductory analyses, commentary, and other ancillary material include expositions of contemporary units of measurement, of tax terms, and of the absorbing details of Han coinage supported by excellent illustrations of specimens now in American collections. Two related texts, *Han Shu* 91 and *Shih Chi* 129, furnish comparative data on the "capitalists" of the period, who exercised at times extensive private economic power. *Han Shu* 24 exposes the deeply rooted Chinese concept that an agricultural economy is to be preferred to trade and industry, a concept out of which grew persistent attempts at state control of the industrial economy. To such ideas of public economic power have always been geared efforts to equalize grain prices. The origin of such notions is indicated in the historian's terminal comment, where he cites from the literary monuments attributed to earliest times. Where there is plenty, supplies should be diminished to fill scarcity elsewhere in order to bring about a balanced or equal distribution, is the recurring theme. Offices are described as having been set up very early to control money and a system of credits in public markets. The "economist" Kuan Chung of the seventh century B.C. is credited with devising standards of weight and measures of money. The "statistician" Li K'uei (ca. 400 B.C.) introduced "price controls" by government purchase of grain in years of plenty which was

thrown onto the market in times of adversity, a system also advocated by the philosopher Mêng-tzū (Mencius, fourth-third centuries B.C.). Against the Confucian literati, advocates of laissez faire, such measures were argued before the throne in the great "Debate on Salt and Iron," *Yen T'ieh Lun*, by the Grand Secretary Sang Hung-yang in 83 B.C. They were to be carried out by offices which equalized prices through regulating transportation of supplies within the empire. A perfected system of government storage of grain to equalize prices through "ever level price" granaries was designed by the statesman Keng Shou-ch'ang in 54 B.C. In his final summation the historian sapiently observes that these most excellent institutions for both consumer and producer tended to err on one side or the other, for traitors and criminals abuse their power.

Similarly, the celebrated Confucianist statesman, Tung-chung Shu, who flourished a century before the Christian era, proposed to restrict individual proprietorship. "Let people's ownership of land be limited in order to sustain the poor in their insufficiency, and to block the way toward monopoly." In A.D. 9, Wang Mang, finally usurping full imperial power, designated land throughout the empire as "sovereign fields," not to be bought or sold under penalty of death. Popular grumbling and groaning, the historian records, led within three years to the rescinding of the agrarian edict. Periodically the profit from salt, iron, and other monopoly industries of the time was ordered brought under official control "to go to the people where it belongs," a principle of *étatisme* which has ever obsessed the Chinese bureaucratic mind.

Dr. Swann's translations are faithful to the texts and direct and clear in style. Some minor differences of opinion may be held in the rendition of certain characters. Students of Chinese history will do well to acquaint themselves with this revealing study, a major contribution to knowledge of basic Chinese social and economic concepts and practices.

*University of Michigan*

ESSON M. GALE

OUTER MONGOLIA AND ITS INTERNATIONAL POSITION. By *Gerard M. Friters*. Edited by *Eleanor Lattimore*. With an Introduction by *Owen Lattimore*. [Issued under the Auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. Pp. xlvii, 358. \$5.00.)

THIS is the first account of Outer Mongolia and its history as it can be seen from documents relating to its international relations. Very little is known about this People's Republic, since it is the first country to become first a tsarist satellite and then to disappear behind the iron curtain and is thus closed to non-Russian foreigners. As the author was, therefore, unable to get first-hand information, and as documents published by the Mongolian People's Government are not available in this country, he had to rely on material written by non-Mongolians,

mainly Russian material. He also could not give a full picture of Outer Mongolia, its society, economy, and culture. The introductory chapter of his book collates what he could find in the literature on these questions, but any such description has, by necessity, to remain colorless.

The book is arranged topically, which entails a certain amount of repetition and leaves certain details unintelligible if the reader does not check with the corresponding sections in the other chapters. For instance, the background of the treaty of 1913 with Russia is understandable only when the previous contacts of Russia with Japan and Great Britain are known (see T'sai Yüan-p'ei, ed., *Chung-O wai-chiao-shih* [Shanghai, n.d.], pp. 84-85). The author mentions these contacts in the chapters dealing with the Japanese-Mongolian and British-Mongolian relations. On the other hand, the arrangement undeniably has its advantages.

The largest part of the book is, naturally, devoted to a study of Russo-Mongolian relations, and here by far the best documentation is given. We are grateful for this presentation of material normally not accessible to the non-specialist. In spite of the fact that a study of the relations between the USSR and Mongolia from the standpoint of traditional diplomatic relations by necessity gives a one-sided, biased, and incomplete picture, the picture of the slow separation of a country, for almost three hundred years under Chinese-Manchu rule, from China and its gradual incorporation into the Soviet system of satellites evolves clearly. The author tried to avoid the bias of his (Russian) sources, but the reviewer is afraid he did not always succeed in this. This is especially evident in his treatment of the relations between China and Mongolia. These relations are written entirely upon the basis of Russian material (only two articles in a Chinese periodical are briefly mentioned in footnotes), and therefore by the party most strongly opposed to the Chinese. The rich Chinese sources may be as biased as are the Russian, but they present at least another type of bias. To give only one example, Ch'en Teng-yüan (*Chung-O kuan-hsi shu-lüeh*, 2d ed. [Shanghai, 1929], p. 112) reports that the Russian (imperial) representative in Urga approved of the Chinese military action in Outer Mongolia (1917), and Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei (*op. cit.*, p. 97) says that the Mongols themselves wanted the intervention as they were afraid of the Red soldiers, and as the financial help, which always had come from Russia, stopped and the "independent" government found itself in great difficulty. Whereas Russian sources declare that manipulations of Chinese merchants led toward an inflation of Russian money, Ch'en Ch'ung-tsu (*Wai-Meng chin-shih-shih* [Shanghai, 1922], chap. 3, pp. 16-17) states that the Chinese merchants suffered severe losses by the devaluation of tsarist and Soviet currencies, used in Mongolia. T'ien P'eng (*Chung-O pang-chiao-chih yen-chiu* [Shanghai, 1937], pp. 50 ff.) and the collection of documents (*Chung-O hui-i ts'an-k'ao-wen-chien*, 5 vols.) give a description of the events of 1922-23 which is quite different from the description given by Russian sources. It is, therefore, desirable that, in order to understand fully the developments in Outer Mongolia and its international rela-

tions, the available Chinese sources and studies as well as Japanese material be used. So far, the value of this book lies mainly in giving the otherwise inaccessible Russian material and the picture which one can gain from these materials. In this respect the book is a valuable contribution and will be used by many political scientists.

An introduction by Owen Lattimore supplies some functional data to Friters' documentary approach. Lattimore draws an interesting comparison between China, Turkey, and Outer Mongolia in their attitudes toward Soviet Russia. The reviewer doubts, however, that the final conclusion—that Turkey, because of its relations with America, “can not be called independent” (p. xliii)—does correspond to the actual situation: Turkey is not bound to the United States by strong links and could break its relations without catastrophic political consequences, whereas Outer Mongolia could not break its relations with the USSR without being occupied immediately.

*University of California*

WOLFRAM EBERHARD

JOURNEY TO THE “MISSOURI.” By *Toshikazu Kase*, Former Member of the Japanese Foreign Office. Edited with a Foreword by *David Nelson Rowe*, Professor of Political Science, Research Associate, Institute of International Studies, Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 282. \$4.00.)

TOSHIKAZU Kase is a talented diplomat who has had a long and fruitful career in the Japanese foreign service. From 1937 when he was secretary of the Japanese embassy in London under Ambassador Mamoru Shigemitsu, until he resigned from the foreign office in December, 1948, he has held a number of important positions. With a wealth of personal experiences, many official documents, and private papers to draw from, Mr. Kase was well fortified to write *Journey to the “Missouri.”* His excellent background in English, which he gathered in part as a student at Amherst and Harvard, has enabled him to write his volume in that language—not a small achievement in itself. He was, of course, ably assisted by David N. Rowe of the political science faculty at Yale and to him no doubt must go a share of the credit for providing a clear and readable narrative.

The author describes the main events and interprets the principal causes and influences which led Japan along the road to war in 1941. His chief emphasis, however, is on the complicated and controversial struggle for peace within Japan during 1944 and 1945. It is primarily on the latter subject that the reputation of the book hinges. Mr. Kase's thorough and painstaking account makes this a richly rewarding pioneer work in the field. Yet it is by no means definitive. The author's point of departure is the Japanese foreign office, but there is much more to be said from the Japanese army's and navy's points of view concerning those bitterly contested issues which finally brought the war to an end. In fact, Japan's struggle

to conclude the conflict in the Pacific is today one of the most debated topics in Japanese circles. The lines are so finely drawn and the sensitivities so tender on numerous points that it is doubtful whether a true or complete account will ever be forthcoming. Even were an exhaustive work published it is highly probable that it would never be accepted in its entirety by all members of the old Japanese armed services or the various agencies within the Japanese government which were connected with the peace move.

In his volume Mr. Kase has emphasized almost to the exclusion of other considerations, the nature of the peace effort from within Japan. The Japanese, who fought tenaciously and bravely to the end, did not engage in peace moves solely because of urgent forces at work from within. These were set in motion by a powerful antagonist who had destroyed all of Japan's peripheries of defense and stood poised to strike the final blow at the heart of the homeland itself. The defeat of Germany in Europe also greatly accelerated the efforts toward peace. The author could have given a more accurate and complete picture of the peace move had he thoroughly analyzed the influences exercised by the continuous pressure of Allied victories.

Books on the Japanese war seem to lend themselves more readily to error than others and Kase's volume is not an exception. To a degree this is understandable, for Japanese source materials are not as extensive as one would like to have them and many of the documents available are fragmentary and not well organized. In many cases the historian is forced to rely on interrogations, but these are often too superficial to be of constructive value and they are sometimes misused for private purposes. With the excellent connections which the author enjoyed it is reasonable to assume that his standard of accuracy could have been higher.

It is, for example, a misrepresentation to claim that the foreign office was "totally unaware of the extent to which the fighting services had completed preparations for war" (p. 19). To add that "the Army and Navy confided nothing to the Foreign Office, which continued negotiations without any knowledge of their true intentions, not to speak of their strategic plans" (p. 19) does not square with the facts. Count Makino was not prime minister in 1930 (p. 34), although he was lord keeper of the privy seal in the same year. The Marshall Islands (p. 72) were not included in Japan's last line of defense in 1943. The author also confuses Marquis Yasumasa Matsudaira with Mr. Tsuneo Matsudaira (p. 74). The fall of the Koiso Cabinet in April, 1945, can scarcely be attributed to the "rising sentiment of the people at large for peace—peace at any price" (p. 109). The Imperial Conference of June 8, 1945, lasted well over an hour, not "only fifteen minutes" (p. 175). Railroads were not being destroyed faster than they could be repaired (p. 196). Some railroads in Kyushu were bombed for tactical reasons but strategic bombing was not concentrated against Japan's railways. There are others but this list must suffice.

The strength of Mr. Kase's book is, paradoxically enough, also its weakness.

His first-hand information is so abundant and his personal experiences so rich that it is difficult for him to divorce himself from the personal elements involved and maintain a detached perspective. He has allowed himself to become entangled in the question of morality and he has perforce become an apologist. In defending the foreign office and interpreting the peace move, which is at times a bit vague, he discredits the Japanese army and navy. This is not always justifiable. Indeed it has become the fashion in many of the books published in both English and Japanese on the war in the Pacific to emphasize the general thesis that the war was started by a small Japanese army clique in defiance of the opinion of the nation and that the army was controlled by young officers who were not only reckless firebrands but ignorant as well. The same general thesis is applied to the peace move in 1945. Granted that there is a good element of truth in the thesis, anyone who has studied the Japanese war in the Pacific with any semblance of thoroughness knows that such an interpretation is an oversimplification of a most complicated problem. The author would have strengthened his story had he been able to leave personality and prejudice out of it. In spite of these shortcomings Mr. Kase deserves high praise for his fine contribution to the literature of World War II. His volume should find a most welcome spot on many a bookshelf.

*Tokyo, Japan*

GORDON W. PRANGE

## American History

EMPIRE OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC: THE MARITIME STRUGGLE FOR NORTH AMERICA. By *Gerald S. Graham*, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1950. Pp. xvii, 338. \$5.00.)

THE author has carefully combined extensive investigation in primary sources on both sides of the Atlantic with a wide range of secondary studies and has emerged with a scholarly treatment of sea power in the North Atlantic from roughly 1550 to the introduction of steam. The final two chapters hastily sketch the story during the last century, and it is hoped that the author, as he promises in his preface, will carry his narrative in detail down to the present.

Professor Graham's basic interpretation stems from the writings of Herbert Rosinski and Alfred Thayer Mahan, but the canvas is broader than Rosinski has as yet undertaken, and the errors of Mahan are carefully corrected. "The greatest strength of British sea power in its classical period," Rosinski is approvingly quoted in the preface, "had lain in the fact that it was able to compress all its manifold offensive and defensive functions into a single task of relatively limited dimensions, the establishment of the 'command' of the Narrow Seas of Western Europe." Such command of the sea was possible, however, not because of any inherent sea-going quality in the British character, nor because of individual initia-



tive, but because of the inexorable facts of geography and the studied policy of the British government. "Conditions which breed skilled seamen," asserts the author, "depended in the past (and still depend) on government policy." Until the age of steam, British naval architecture was inferior to French. Yet, British mercantile interest demanded of the government command of the sea, British resources were not unduly drained by Continental fighting, and the British Admiralty was able to devise a strategical doctrine of concentration which denied the sea lanes to enemies of the British Empire. Although Professor Graham feels that in any case the American Revolution would probably have been successful, he points out that the necessity for concentration in home waters to meet the threat of a Continental coalition hampered operations across the Atlantic.

In other words, the thirteen colonies were self-sufficient enough to defy sea power even though diplomatic failures required naval concentration at home. Such is the theme of this thorough and highly documented work: "... naval history, so-called, is essentially political and diplomatic history"; and proper strategic disposition "consists, not simply in placing ships in every sea, whether or not there is any actual need for them, but in providing adequate force at the decisive point."

It is odd that despite the brilliant record of the British government in adhering to these basic diplomatic and strategical considerations, Graham should with Mahan doubt the ability of a democracy to adopt and follow a sound naval strategy (or any sound strategy for that matter). The explanation possibly lies in Mahan's experiences during the Spanish American War and before, and in the fact that Graham, a native of Canada, is perplexed by the long refusal of that Dominion to bear its share of the naval burden of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Despite handicaps, the parliamentary and congressional systems of government have, at least in terms of naval warfare, proved more flexible and imaginative than any other type. This point is partially proved by Professor Graham's highly successful study.

Princeton University

JETER A. ISELY

JOHN ADAMS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Catherine Drinker Bowen*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1950. Pp. xvii, 699. \$5.00.)

AMERICAN historians have generally found it hard to come at a vivid realization of the genius and significance of John Adams. The reasons for this professional failure of nerve are quickly apparent if one reflects briefly on the nature of this strange man. No tag suits him, no classification fits.

Was he conservative, or profoundly and romantically a true rebel? An Anglophile and worshipper of the traditions of Anglo-Saxon law, or a stubborn and almost rigid New Englander who pointedly called himself "John Yankee"? An aristocrat, fearing the "prejudice" and "passion" of an unreflective people, or a

democrat, hating the injustice of government over the people and the arrogance of birth, breeding, and prestige? A Federalist (nominally, yes), and Federalist President of the United States when he broke with party bosses to act to preserve peace with the French Republic and when he was in turn repudiated by his party? A precise, careful legal mind or a man of overwhelming independence of judgment, verging sometimes on the fanatic and fantastic? A Puritan, schooled out of feeling and passion, or an excitable and melodramatic patriot, striving constantly for humanistic grandeur and vast moral scope? Obviously, a man unique and startlingly alone: very lonely in the company of America's other greats who had or could simulate "the common touch."

From these combinations of peculiarities, ever wedded to a testy disposition and a disconcerting erudition, John Adams has but rarely been allowed to "sit" for history. Until Mrs. Bowen's book came along, a safe prediction would have been that a popular biography could be better produced on almost any other great American patriot: not on him. The palpable achievement of this fine book lies in the reversal of our false prediction. For here is a biography of John Adams that makes moving and comprehensible the nature of his own conflicts, the steadiness of his moral goals withal, and the political hue rather than color of a firmly independent American.

The fact that *John Adams and the American Revolution* is a successful and "best-selling" book should not blind the professional historian to its worth. *Despite* its success, it is a mature and sound scholarly work. Extensive reading in contemporary journals, diaries, political and theological tracts has made the atmosphere of the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary world, indeed of the eighteenth century on American shores, quite real and viable to the author, and her idiom flows naturally in accord with the idiom of the time. Her appropriation of the plentiful Adams manuscript materials (once too jealously guarded by the Adams Family Trust) is more than competent—for she uses her materials with discrimination and can even resist the temptation to display *all* her research.

In only one particular does this "amateur" historian fall behind her professional brethren, whom, on the other hand, she surpasses so mightily in her mastery of readable narrative and imaginative insight that her failing is almost irrelevant—but irrelevance never stops a reviewer, and will not now. The failing I refer to concerns Mrs. Bowen's curious conception of the function of footnotes. She theorizes, somewhat too elaborately, in my opinion, that her notes "are designed to be read all at once, either before or after the narrative—or skipped entirely. To look them up each time is to risk fatal interruption." This is manifestly absurd. The notes are meaningless read before the narrative, and not exactly intelligible when read after, since the portion of the narrative referred to is no longer in mind. Skipped entirely, the notes are a waste of paper, print, and laborious research. What remains then of the author's instructions is only a pose and neither a sensible nor a graceful one at that. A little more sententious posing

is discernible in certain introductory remarks Mrs. Bowen makes about historical methodology and in her concluding "Word about Sources and Methods." But these departures from convincing statement are outside the narrative, which is generally exceptionally good.

The time span covered in this biography is purposely limited to the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary John Adams. To one like the reviewer who values the development and growth of the thinking John Adams, in middle age and mid-career and even in the incredible energetic awareness of his old age and retirement, it is disappointing to be given only the John Adams in the greatest of his roles as a political personality and architect of American Republicanism. There is some indecisive talk in the previously mentioned introductory section about subsequent volumes, but the general impression is created that this volume is to stand on its own and may well be Mrs. Bowen's sole work on John Adams. In that event, one will certainly grant that she has shown the rich human possibilities in salty "John Yankee" in the era of independence and that she has set the stage for his political career and further intellectual explorations. Perhaps from here on, John Adams will belong to America, to American historians, and to the people whom he could criticize and—at a distance—"love." (How else, by the way, does one love a people?)

*Washington, D. C.*

ADRIENNE KOCH

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Edited by *Julian P. Boyd*. Associate Editors: *Lyman H. Butterfield* and *Mina R. Bryan*. Volume II, 1777 TO 18 JUNE 1779, INCLUDING THE REVISAL OF THE LAWS, 1776-1786. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xxiv, 665. \$10.00.)

In this second volume of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* the elaborate introductory matter of Volume I is reduced to a very few prefatory pages; an understanding of the scope and the method of the work as a whole is now taken for granted. The first part of this volume—a little less than one half—presents, for the years 1777, 1778, and five months of 1779, material very like that previously published for the latter months of 1776, after the return of Jefferson from Philadelphia to Virginia. From outside Virginia the correspondence with Richard Henry Lee, still in Congress, was best sustained—though chiefly on Lee's part. In 1777 began the exchange of letters with John Adams, later to be so long continued and so famed. In the General Assembly of Virginia Jefferson supported such measures as were needed to fulfill the state's obligations to Congress. But on the whole Philadelphia, the Congress, and the War of the Revolution seem far away in comparison with Jefferson's feverish activity in continental affairs only a few months before. It was in Virginia that the papers now had their origin; and as to Virginia, the documents reflect mainly Jefferson's successive terms of

service in the General Assembly until his election, in June, 1779, to the governorship of the state.

Of papers other than bills introduced by him, which belong to the time of Jefferson's service in the house of delegates, examples are to be found in the copy sent to him of the depositions taken in the matter of Richard Henderson and the Transylvania Company, and in the group of communications exchanged by the senate and the house over the case of Thomas Johnson, out of which arose much argument as to the power of the senate to amend money bills. More directly important were the several bills which Jefferson submitted, one after another, for the improvement of the administration of the government under the state's constitution, and for carrying out his plans for a better social order. These covered a wide range, from the "dissolving" of parishes and from inoculation for small-pox to such larger matters as the removal of the capital, the establishment of a land office, and the sequestering of British property.

But the Bill for the Revision of the Laws, which he had introduced in mid-October, 1776, and which had been passed, was of a wider scope and a deeper intent than the many single measures which he had fathered. It is to the long and complicated history of what resulted from this beginning that the 360 pages which constitute the second and larger half of this volume are devoted.

For nearly three years the committee which the General Assembly had established to make effective the act of 1776 was hard at work. Only three of the five elected to the committee served; and when Jefferson, the chairman, with whom Wythe and Pendleton had shared the labor, was ready to report, only Wythe was at his side; Pendleton was absent, though consenting. The report of the revisers, made June 18, 1779, recommended no less than 126 separate bills. Almost at once the war came to Virginia and the South, and there was no time for the general consideration of the revisal. Not until 1784 was the report of the committee printed, in a pamphlet of ninety-two pages. Even then progress was slow; some of the bills never became law; many were not enacted until 1785-1786.

In a remarkable editorial note that runs to twenty pages, the editors (1) explain at length the history of the revisal—of which it has been possible here to give only the barest abbreviation; (2) determine, by textual comparison, the text of each of the bills as it was when the report was submitted in 1779; (3) indicate what part of the revisal was contributed by Jefferson himself. Their task has been complicated by the fact that they have found no complete manuscript of the report of 1779, and have had to depend upon the later printed text of 1784 and upon sundry partial and limited manuscript sources. Besides the long editorial note there has been provided a critical note, usually brief, but in some cases long and detailed, for each of the 126 bills. Of the extended type of note no better example can be cited than that which treats of bill No. 82—the famous Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom. Strangely enough, in view of the importance which Jefferson himself attached to this measure, Dr. Boyd has found no manu-

script copy. But there were many printings and facsimiles; and the account of these presents a fascinating example of critical bibliography.

In fine, this volume fully sustains the high standard set in the former volume. As before, the chief distinction is to be found in the careful editing and in the wealth of scholarly annotation. There are interpretations on which there may be differing opinions. There are some points of erudition which the editors have not pretended to explore. As Dr. Boyd says: "That kind of appraisal must await investigation and evaluation by the legal historian." For the book as a product of the printer's art one can have only admiration. But this reviewer, at least, must continue to regret the absence of an index for each volume.

*Chevy Chase, Maryland*

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

THE NEW NATION: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THE CONFEDERATION, 1781-1789. By *Merrill Jensen*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xviii, 433, xi. \$5.00.)

WHEN the United States Constitution was adopted in 1789, the men who had drawn it up and fought for its acceptance won a double victory: they captured not only the future of America but also the past. In the campaign they had argued that the Articles of Confederation were responsible for every evil from which the country suffered. When the voters accepted the new constitution, they gave tacit approval to this view, and the fathers of the Constitution came to be regarded as heroes who had rescued the country in the nick of time from chaos and anarchy.

Charles Beard attacked this conception long ago by intimating that the heroism of the fathers was rooted in their holdings of federal securities. Merrill Jensen, continuing the assault, argues that the system of government which the Constitution replaced was fulfilling the democratic promise of the Declaration of Independence and doing very nicely until it was overthrown by a conspiracy of the well-to-do. Professor Jensen's thesis, adumbrated in his earlier book, is that the Revolution must be seen as a bid for power on the part of groups which had hitherto been suppressed or ignored within each colony. This bid for power, though not entirely successful, did achieve expression in the Articles of Confederation, which replaced central control by the British Parliament with local control by the several states. The Articles allowed for joint action where such action was needed but avoided setting up a central authority which might be used as a bulwark for local aristocracies. Precisely for this reason the Articles were regarded as inadequate by those members of the old ruling class who had joined the Revolution at the last minute instead of turning Loyalist.

In this new book Jensen continues the story begun in his earlier one and follows the efforts of the old ruling class, the "nationalists," to achieve a stronger central control, and the efforts of the old revolutionists—the real "federalists" as

opposed to those who later took that name—to retain “the political essence of the Revolution, the federal government.” Up to 1780 the federalists had held a majority in Congress. From 1781 to 1783 the nationalists were in the saddle and tried to turn Congress into an instrument of national government through the financial schemes of Robert Morris. After the coming of peace the federalists regained supremacy only to lose it through the final adoption of the Constitution. The book covers not only the political history of the period, but the economic, financial, and cultural history as well. The only conspicuous omission is the framing and ratification of the Constitution, which would have required a book in itself.

Those who had doubts about Professor Jensen’s thesis in the original statement of it, will probably have as many about this later application. One may still ask whether it is fair to attach to the “federalists” all the prestige of the successful Revolution and to treat the “nationalists” as stepchildren who “frankly disliked the political heritage of the Revolution.” If, as Jensen insists, the American Revolution was primarily a dispute about who should rule at home, such an interpretation may be justified. But if the Revolution was, as many of its earliest and most ardent advocates maintained, a dispute about the security of private property, then one may as readily argue that the Constitution of 1787, rather than the Articles of Confederation, fulfilled the promise of the Declaration of Independence, and that the nationalists rather than the federalists were the true heirs of the Revolution.

Even if one accepts Jensen’s premise that the essence of the Revolution was the internal conflict, one may doubt that the disputes of the 1780’s between nationalists and federalists were a continuation of the internal struggles of the Revolutionary period. It has been shown by the Handlins that such a continuity did not exist in Massachusetts, and there is no proof offered here that it did exist in a majority of the other states.

In fairness to Professor Jensen, it must be said that he has never supported his interpretation as a universal formula. In his first book he explained that he was merely grouping the facts around a theme, and in this volume as in the other his development of the theme offers a fresh way of treating the politics of the time. Whatever limitations other scholars may see in this treatment, it endows many important issues of the day with a new significance and leaves the reader with the inescapable conclusion that if the “Critical Period” was critical, it was not so for the reasons that John Fiske had supposed.

*Brown University*

EDMUND S. MORGAN

THE LETTERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND JANE MECOM. Edited with an Introduction by *Carl Van Doren*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 27.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press for American Philosophical Society. 1950. Pp. xx, 380. \$5.00.)



JANE MECOM: THE FAVORITE SISTER OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. By  
*Carl Van Doren.* (New York: Viking Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 255. \$4.00.)

THESE two volumes represent the last critical as well as the last creative writing of the ranking Franklin biographer of our generation. The biography, the only one of a woman by Carl Van Doren, is the direct result of his editing of the correspondence. Impressed by the quality of her letters and the remarkable personality they revealed, he concluded that Jane merited a biography in her own right. It was a courageous and loyal decision. Here was no great character known to the annals of history to attract the biographer. Van Doren had a wide range of acquaintances among colonial celebrities, yet he chose to write of a woman of lowly station almost entirely domestic in her activities and limited in her outlook on public affairs. It remains to be seen whether even his admiration, artistry, and cyclopedic knowledge of the family will win a place for Jane in the hall of fame, in which hero worship on a somewhat different level prevails.

Since our knowledge of Jane is based so largely on the *Letters*, they have an importance quite apart from the fact that they are excellent reading. More than 160 are brought together, 30 by Franklin and 31 by Jane not heretofore published, while the text of many of those that had been published has been collated with the originals with meticulous care. Each letter is preceded by an introductory note, elucidating otherwise obscure points in the text. These often represent laborious research added to Van Doren's already large store of knowledge of the Franklins. In general, the correspondence is extremely personal, relating largely to homely things—family, local news, the weather, pleasure on the part of an adoring sister at the honors to her brother, worries over his religious views, and occasional misgivings as to her own shortcomings in spelling, punctuation, etc. "There are few words spelt right," she wrote on one occasion, to which he replied, "You write better, in my Opinion, than most American Women," and teased her for seeking compliments. Here are found many of Franklin's picturesque quotations like, "My face is now almost as well known as that of the moon." The correspondence "fills out and enlarges the picture of Franklin," while it discovers "an important American woman, a valiant, upright spirit, with so much woman and so much mind." Franklin, one of the world's ablest letter writers, is revealed in a new light, dealing not with political, scientific, social, or any other of the amazing variety of his activities, but as an understanding brother with a fine loyalty to family ties, reflecting the homely philosophy of Poor Richard in deeds as well as words.

As a result of recent search more than one hundred letters by Franklin to his wife, Deborah, whom he usually addressed as "My dear child," have been found. This calls for a revision of the statement that "Franklin wrote more letters to Jane than to any other person." Incidentally an erratum on page 30, line 26, correcting the date 1784 to 1790, should also be noted. The volume of *Letters* is a first-

rate example of good bookmaking, combining attractive color scheme and composition with artistic taste in the use of fonts quite worthy of "B. Franklin, Printer."

Meanwhile the publication of this group of Franklin correspondence naturally calls to mind the need of a definitive edition of his writings, similar to that of the Jefferson Papers, now in progress under the editorship of Dr. Julian Boyd. The editions of Bigelow, Sparks, and Smyth are inadequate, not only because of more rigorous editorial standards of our day but because of the large mass of new material which has come to light in recent years. Of these the American Philosophical Society has acquired a great many, some of which, like those here under review, have been separately published. Verner W. Crane's intensive search has added over ninety "new" pieces in the English press by Franklin during the years 1758 to 1775. Franklin's political propaganda in France during the Passy period was even more productive, and a similar study of it and the American press will manifestly yield equally surprising results. Much preparatory work will obviously be necessary. Even in the brief time since this review was written, a very fine Franklin letter to Jane has been found and added to the American Philosophical Society's collection, for publication in the *Library Bulletin* for 1951, as a first *addenda* to the Van Doren volume.

*American Philosophical Society*

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH

QUAKERS AND SLAVERY IN AMERICA. By *Thomas E. Drake*, Associate Professor of American History and Curator of the Quaker Collection, Haverford College. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, LI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 245. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Drake has made a notable contribution to historical scholarship. The influence and the power of the Quakers are well known, but here is documentation in an important field by a man who understands the Quaker faith. The excellence of this work fully justifies the historical monograph as an instrument for the advancement of knowledge and at the same time demonstrates that this form of writing can be fascinating.

The time covered, from George Fox to 1865, necessitates a survey of a vast literature, primary and secondary, from the time of Oliver Cromwell to the present day. The reviewer fails to find a mention of Annie Heloise Abel and Frank J. Klingberg, *A Side-Light on Anglo-American Relations, 1839-1858* (1927), in which the force of British Quakerism is presented as a decisive factor in the mitigation or destruction of slavery in the Americas. However, key British Quakers of these two decades, Joseph Sturge, the Gurneys, Josiah and William Forster, John Candler, to cite several, appear in Drake's pages, and besides he is writing primarily of slavery in America.

The 37-page annotated bibliography and the notes are not merely a part of the

machinery of scholarship but an indispensable key to past scholarship and a guide for the future. The Yale University Press has not compelled the author to bundle the notes away at the end of the book or after each chapter. Readers wish to read the notes as they go along, sometimes all of them. It is to be hoped that the type of this volume will not be distributed because there will be a steady demand for it for half a century. Indeed, works on slavery and emancipation never die. Slavery, now more extensive and vicious than ever before, has the habit of recurring perhaps in a new disguise as in the case of the Amazon Valley, the Dutch East Indies, or Eurasia. The re-emergence of slavery was ably pointed out by Charles Morrow Wilson in his *Trees and Test Tubes; The Story of Rubber* (1943). Each generation of emancipators strengthens its resolution by a backward glance at the achievement of men of intelligence and moral character. The Quaker theme is that emancipation need not be by war. Britain freed her 800,000 West Indian slaves by partial compensation. Brazil emancipated her 4,000,000 without war. The United States emancipated her 4,000,000 at a cost of a million white men and untoward consequences that will last a century.

University of California, Los Angeles

FRANK J. KLINGBERG

PREBLE'S BOYS: COMMODORE PREBLE AND THE BIRTH OF AMERICAN SEA POWER. By *Fletcher Pratt*. (New York: William Sloane Associates. 1950. Pp. 419. \$5.00.)

MR. Pratt's most recent contribution to American naval history is neither history nor biography within the conventional acceptance of those terms. It is a collection of correlated and interlocked essays. They are informative, colorful, fast moving, and action packed, but interpretative essays they continue to be—short narratives with a singleness of purpose and a unity of theme. Heavier handed, academic precisionists, thoroughly schooled in the dogmas of *ibids.* and *op. cit.*, could easily deplore the absence of documentation and the paucity of source reference. A brief could be filed against the selectivity of incidents from which are limned the biographical sketches that form the narrative threads for sixteen of the seventeen discourses. For example, the same number of words given to facts from the full life span of Captain Isaac Hull, the commander of *Constitution* in her battle with *Guerrière*, would produce a vastly different picture from that found in *Preble's Boys*. To pursue such a line of carping criticism, however, would achieve no more than to reveal an ignorance of the book's real value and purpose.

Fletcher Pratt's purpose is pikestaff clear; even clearer than he states it in his own preface. His objective is to spotlight the source and quality of the fighting spirit that first manifested itself on a broad base within the American Navy during the War of 1812. Mr. Pratt attributes it to Commodore Edward Preble, best known for his operations against the Barbary pirates, 1803-1804. The author concedes there were men in the young naval service prior to Preble who were endowed

with a fighting edge. But John Paul Jones and Thomas Truxton were the exceptions rather than the rule. Neither of these, Mr. Pratt contends, created a climate of thought, the essential concept that it is more important that a warship be well fought than that it be well sailed. Mr. Pratt contends Preble not only did exactly that, but that he also did it so well that through his disciples the combat concept has extended down to our own day. Admiral Spruance, just before the battle of the Philippine Sea, insisted: "If the destroyers run out of fuel, send them back and we will proceed without them. I am going to strike that fleet and I will not be distracted by details." Though he does not categorically say so, to Mr. Pratt that was more than Spruance talking. It was the spirit of Edward Preble, transmitted through the captains of 1812, thence through the contemporaries of Farragut, Dewey, Mahan, and Sims. To this end, Mr. Pratt submits a case that is both persuasive and good reading.

For his exposition of the quality of the fighting spirit Preble transmitted to "his boys," the author presents fifteen chapters, each a vignette of one of Preble's boys in action during the War of 1812. Each reaches a climax in the battle that gave that officer's name to history. Thus is brought together within a single binding a superb account of ship actions in which the Americans were victorious; and a few, such as *Chesapeake* versus *Shannon*, in which the Americans lost. The ship evolutions shown in the battle diagrams are not materially different from those found in Theodore Roosevelt's naval history of the War of 1812 or in Mahan's writings, but the diagrams are far more artistic, and more easily understood by the landsman. The accompanying narrative is also nontechnical. The net result is somewhat more than the stated objective. It becomes a sort of case history of the naval aspects of the War of 1812, written for popular consumption but well worth the scholar's attention.

State Teachers College, Superior, Wisconsin

JIM DAN HILL

THE BURNED-OVER DISTRICT: THE SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF ENTHUSIASTIC RELIGION IN WESTERN NEW YORK, 1800-1850. By Whitney R. Cross, West Virginia University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1950. Pp. xiii, 383. \$5.00.)

ENTHUSIASM, which originally meant divine indwelling, has been both a seminal and a disruptive force in religious history. It has spread explosively from electrical storm centers for short periods. Because it asserts direct divine revelation as primary authority, it claims to shed new light to lighten the Gentiles. The new light turns to heat from friction with established interpretations of scripture and community religious tradition. Heat and power can burn over, pry loose, and destroy; only when a movement is channeled by new scriptural or social authorities, as in Mormonism, does an enduring equilibrium emerge.

Professor Cross analyzes the origins and manifestations of religious enthusiasm

along the Erie Canal towns and their hinterlands west of the Catskills and Adirondacks. He has lived long and observantly in this region. Writing from the basic assumptions of modern liberal and social Christianity, he brings perspective but not harsh judgment to his intimate observations. He uses a wide range of sources, and treats the evidence, queer or sensational as some of it is, with discrimination. He can feel within the period and the movement, whether benevolent reform, Antimasonry, Mormonism, Finney's revival, perfectionism, millennialism, or communitarianism. He disposes of the myth of the godless New York frontier by discounting the testimony of interested missionaries and emphasizing the difference between the small "church" of "professors" who have experienced conversion and the larger society of attenders and supporters. He clarifies the paradox of interdenominationalism and sectarianism. He finds that isms grew best during lulls immediately after land and canal booms, after western New York had passed the frontier subsistence stage but before it reached urban industrialism. To press for a closer correlation between revivalistic religion and its social background of agrarian "economic maturity" (p. 70) is, however, pressing too hard. The book is rewarding for other conclusions: that benevolent organizations were more national in hope than in scope and were often dominated by the Presbyterians; that Mormonism was not a frontier religion in origin or expansion; that "Finney's Holy Band" was not a definite organization. That ultras were one-idea men, however, I do not find proved.

Cross builds on Carl Carmer's New York folklore and D. M. Ludlum's work among the Vermont roots of New York enthusiasm, but he resists more successfully than either the temptation to produce interesting formulas or accept sensational charges. He defends the character of Jemima Wilkinson, maintains greater detachment in dealing with the Oneida Perfectionists, and rejects the myth of Adventists on hilltops in ascension robes. He refines many of Ludlum's conclusions, usually by a better grasp of ideological as well as environmental conditions. More could have been done, as Ludlum did, with the interrelations of religion and politics, e.g., Finney's "new" measures and political rhetoric.

The monograph dispenses with bibliographical padding through its skillfully constructed index. It needs a base map; the twenty-five distribution maps are deficient in statistical technique and presentation (lack of county and town names, confusion between median and average [pp. 90, 93] choice of critical quantities), yet they and the careful use of the census show how much can be done by this method. What next in this field? One might suggest equally well-rounded studies of Universalism and Hicksite Quakerism in the Northeast and a study parallel to this on the Middle West.

*Earlham College*

THOMAS BASSETT

THE EMERGENCE OF LINCOLN. Volume I, DOUGLAS, BUCHANAN,  
AND PARTY CHAOS, 1857-1859. Volume II, PROLOGUE TO CIVIL

WAR, 1859-1861. By *Allan Nevins*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1950. Pp. xii, 472; vii, 524. \$12.50.)

THESE two volumes are, as the author tells us in his preface, complete in themselves, but they constitute also a sequel to the author's two previous volumes entitled *Ordeal of the Union*, so that the four between them cover the history of the United States from 1846 to 1861. There must be few scholars in the United States or outside it who are competent to deliver an expert judgment upon the whole of these present two volumes, and there are probably not many more who could judge with authority any substantial part of the impressive and fascinating whole. But there are many, of whom the present reviewer is one, who will be able without difficulty to appreciate the value of this fine work, for, without being experts, they can recognize, when they see it, sound scholarship combined with the capacity to write history. This combination is not really so common among professional historians that its presence should pass unnoticed. To those who know the work of Allan Nevins it comes as no surprise, of course, to find such a rare combination, yet it should be remembered that neither scholarship nor good writing necessarily come without much labor and sweat and heart-searching and disappointment, and all honor is due to one who has for so long consistently maintained the highest of standards both as a scholar and as a writer.

The ordeal of the Union is a great theme, the greatest in American history, surely, up to 1941, and among the greatest in the whole history of the world. Yet, although even the most incompetent historian could scarcely fail to convey some hint of its greatness in writing of the years from 1861 to 1870, it is immeasurably harder to portray this great theme in the period from 1846 to 1861, and particularly for the years 1857 to 1861, which are the subject of this book. The story is packed with immense and complicated detail; there is much involved and sordid and petty politics to be unraveled and assessed; there are long, polemical, dreary, and ephemeral speeches to be traversed—all this alongside the clash of personalities, the fire of passions, heroism and fanaticism, selfishness and altruism. The mere task of telling an ordered and lucid story is enough to tax the skill of the ordinary historian. To raise the narrative to the heights which the great theme deserves, while at the same time to keep fairly in the picture what was dull and sordid and tortuous, to expound what is intricate and obscure, to face the difficulties of personality or problem and not to avoid them, call for supreme and unique talents. Nevins has achieved this goal magnificently. For grasp and power and selective skill and profundity he is approached, in my view, only by James G. Randall in the earlier chapters of his great conspectus *The Civil War and Reconstruction*.

Of course no one will be ready to accept every judgment or every statement in Nevins' work without question or dispute. If the theme is the greatest in American history, it is also the most controversial. Some may feel that he is too hard on Douglas. I confess that Douglas' comment on Lincoln's "House Divided" speech:



"Why should the Union be all free or all slave?" (I, 364) has always seemed to me a fair and apt reply. I feel that Nevins lets Lincoln off too lightly here (pp. 359 ff.). Yet this matter is small when placed beside his extended treatment of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. These speeches can seldom be read in these days. They are dreary and involved; much of them is unworthy of preservation. Yet Nevins somehow has brought them to life, and he comes nearer to doing justice to Douglas in his treatment of them than any other writer known to me.

To the great and fundamental question of interpretation which must underlie all attempts to write the history of this period—"Why did the war between the states break out?"—no answer, of course, can escape controversy. Nevins answers this question boldly and with wisdom, and the pages (II, 462-71) in which he draws together his reflections and conclusions on this difficult topic repay the most careful study. His view is summed up in these words: "It was not primarily a war about slavery alone, although that institution seemed to many the grand cause. It was a war over slavery *and* the future position of the Negro race in North America" (p. 470). With that conclusion I would venture, if I may presume to say so, to agree entirely. I would only add that to say this is, in my view, to say that the war was about slavery. The two things were inextricably involved.

There is not space enough to pick out, as one would wish, all the points of interest and the chapters of special value, such as that on the Dred Scott decision, for example, (I, chap. 4) or that entitled "Slavery in a World Setting" (II, chap. 5). May we conclude by raising a relatively minor point, which admirers of Lincoln may perhaps find interesting. It seems that we are still no nearer certainty about whether Lincoln made that notorious remark about the impossibility of fooling all the people all the time (I, 382-83). In a footnote Nevins writes: "It sounds like Lincoln. . ." For my part, I do not think it does! But supposing he did say it at Clinton, are we to believe that he said it on September 8, 1858, as Carl Sandburg says (*Lincoln, the Prairie Years*, II, 142), or on September 2, 1858, which is the date Nevins suggests here?

*All Souls College, Oxford, England*

K. C. WHEARE

AND THE WAR CAME: THE NORTH AND THE SECESSION CRISIS, 1860-1861. By *Kenneth M. Stampp*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 331. \$4.50.)

THE analysis of the course of events upon which any theory of causation relating to the American Civil War must be based is complex and has invited a wide degree of specialization. So intricate is the pattern that the unraveling and identification of the threads which comprise it have been a long-continued process not yet ended. Mr. Stampp has selected one of these threads and subjected it to a specialist's keen study. This thread is the evolution of northern public opinion regarding the mounting crisis which came to climax in mid-April, 1861.

The author is of the opinion that with the enmity between the sections so bitter, the sensible thing would have been a peaceful separation. But this idea the North would not tolerate and his chief purpose is to find out why. In order to discover the answer he endeavors to take what amounts to a running opinion poll as the crisis became increasingly acute. The material for these polls has been found in the columns of some fifty-odd newspapers published in the East and Middle West, together with the material available in Perkins, *Northern Editorials on Secession*, in the correspondence files of such members of Congress, mainly Republicans, as are readily accessible, and in the pages of the *Congressional Globe*.

From these opinion samplings, the author draws the conclusion that so strongly did northern opinion identify the national interest with sectional self-interest that there was a general unwillingness to accept any compromise that would impair it, and a growing determination to fight to promote it, somewhat confusing the protection of self-interest with a crusading zeal to fight sin. Northern efforts at compromise were therefore not only perfunctory but hypocritical. Northern leaders felt they had an advantage and they never meant to surrender any appreciable portion of it. He also found a few quotations which show that some believed a war would be profitable to northern economic and political interests. This rising tide of belligerency he essays to correlate with the developing policies of Buchanan and Lincoln in handling the crisis.

This is an excellent piece of specialized work and on the whole it shows careful craftsmanship and good judgment. Mr. Stampp is particularly discerning in his treatment of the personal situations of Buchanan and Lincoln. Of the former he takes a sensible view, making him neither the villain nor the persecuted constitutional saint. He corrects certain recent misconceptions of Lincoln's motives and endeavors to relieve him of the implications of inviting bloodshed to save his party. His exposure of some of the sham of compromise-seeking is revealing, though his plan of exposition does not permit him to give space to the efforts of Douglas and certain of his northern Democratic and border-state associates to that end, nor to the work of the Peace Convention. For he has set rather arbitrary limits on the sources he used, probably because of lack of time and facilities for wider coverage. His concentration on Republican material and Republican opinion has led him to get less than he might have from the papers of Democratic politicians.

The main thesis of the book, that the war came primarily because of an increasingly belligerent attitude on the part of the North to protect the national interest and incidentally to promote its own, it is statistically not possible to demonstrate. The only numerical check that we have, the election returns of 1860, show a nonaggressive plurality of voters in the North. But these heads were counted in November, not in the following April. The sampling demonstrates that the aggressive feeling was there and if a specialist may be somewhat overenthusiastic

about the influence of the trend he has so carefully analyzed, that is a normal characteristic of specialization which need give no concern. The author's work makes another thread in the complex pattern much clearer, and the pattern itself the more meaningful, but the pattern of causation itself is still obscure, perhaps in the nature of things it must always remain so.

*University of Pennsylvania*

ROY F. NICHOLS

THE GALLANT HOOD. By *John P. Dyer*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1950. Pp. 383. \$3.50.)

IN *The Gallant Hood* Professor Dyer fills a long, glaring gap in Civil War history. His portrait of Hood, based on extensive new research, is balanced and eminently readable.

The author's achievement is the more impressive in view of the dearth of personal material bearing on his subject. Most of Hood's own papers were lost. Those which survived are widely scattered. Collateral materials also are sketchy and diffused. Professor Dyer's mainstay was the voluminous *Official Records* (cited by many historians of the Civil War period, but thoroughly probed by relatively few), which he used to great advantage. He also obtained helpful data from newspapers, personal narratives, unit histories, and secondary studies. His text and footnotes show frequent reference to Mary Boykin Chesnut's inimitable *Diary*, both old and new editions, Polley's *Hood's Texas Brigade*, Freeman's books on Lee, and Hood's own apologetic *Advance and Retreat*.

Professor Dyer's treatment of Hood is sympathetic, but his is the sympathy born of understanding a tragic character. He shows no inclination toward glossing over his subject's weaknesses or magnifying his virtues. The Hood revealed here is one who began his war career as a bold, generous, lovable man and who excelled as a leader of regiment, brigade, and division. But the plaudits of worshipful women and the acclaim of political leaders turned his head. From being magnanimous and high principled he sank to unbecoming criticism of his military superior and to designing flattery of ruling politicians. The high command won in part by these questionable methods proved his undoing. For he who had shone brilliantly as the leader of hundreds failed miserably as a leader of the thousands who composed the hard-fighting but hapless Army of Tennessee.

The author is not quite so judicious in weighing some of Hood's associates. Longstreet, in particular, is made to appear in worse light than now seems justifiable. Certainly the concept of a small-souled, sulking "War Horse," consciously impeding Lee's efforts at Gettysburg becomes highly questionable in view of the studies of Kenneth P. Williams and the late Donald B. Sanger, neither of whom is cited by the author.

The only factual error of any consequence noted by the reviewer is the statement (p. 235) that at Resaca, Georgia, "there was no battle." Johnston's official

report of Resaca tells of "heavy attacks . . . handsomely repulsed" and Sherman reported a "heavy battle" there. William F. Fox in his *Regimental Losses in the American Civil War* credits several thousand casualties to the three days' operations at Resaca.

The author's style borders on the breezy at times, but this fault, if it be a fault, is far more than offset by his rare gift of narration. *The Gallant Hood* is an admirable book about a fascinating character.

Emory University

BELL IRVIN WILEY

A JOURNAL OF THE McKINLEY YEARS. By *Charles G. Dawes*. Edited, and with a Foreword, by *Bascom N. Timmons*. (La Grange, Ill.: The Towers. 1950. Pp. xxiv, 458. \$3.00.)

THE defeat of William Jennings Bryan in 1896 and the resulting McKinley years seem almost like ancient history to college students today. Two world wars, a grim depression, and the presidencies of the two Roosevelts and Wilson tend to dim interest in the decade when the nation first emerged as a great world power and when the two major political parties first concerned themselves with the troublesome question of the role of the government in the economy.

The decade of the 1890's, in much the same manner as such decades as the 1930's and the 1850's, holds a fascination for the student of American development, and contains a rich mine of material on the behavior of the American electorate. Many books have been written about the Populist-Bryan-Agrarian reform movements and about the liberal Republican roots of Theodore Roosevelt's Square Deal. The more conservative Republican development and particularly the ideas and actions of leaders like McKinley have received less attention than they deserve. The publication of the *Journal* of Charles G. Dawes covering the McKinley years is, therefore, an important contribution to scholars in their efforts to re-create this period.

The Charles G. Dawes *Journal* opens with his activities as a lawyer and financier in Nebraska and his early support of William McKinley for the Republican presidential nomination. In 1895, Dawes moved to Chicago, and he soon headed the McKinley campaign in Illinois. During the Bryan-McKinley struggle, Dawes, although only thirty-one, was second in command in the Republican campaign and responsible for the funds used by the national committee. The *Journal* entries discussing these funds dispose of the charge that many millions of dollars were available to the national committee, although, of course, the national committee did not necessarily have all the information about funds expended by state and local Republican committees.

After the election, McKinley took Dawes to Washington as comptroller of the currency. Of these years, the editor notes in the foreword, "Although Dawes was still the youngest man in Washington in anything like a comparable office

the President leaned on him more and more, made a confidant of him and demonstrated his complete confidence in him in many ways." Dawes saw the President daily, for instance, during the days leading up to the Spanish American War, and his comments on the pressures on McKinley for war amplify what is now generally accepted.

The *Journal* contains particularly interesting material on Mark Hanna's attitude toward Theodore Roosevelt in 1900 and on the days following the death of McKinley. Shortly after Roosevelt became President, Mr. Dawes returned to his banking activities in Chicago. The remaining pages deal mainly with business and political developments over the next few years.

This book obviously will be of chief interest to scholars. It is most unfortunate, as a result, that the editor, newspaperman Bascom N. Timmons, failed to indicate by ellipses those parts of the *Journal* material that he deleted. Furthermore, the editor failed to supply explanatory material for obscure events and even more obscure individuals. If properly edited, the *Journal* would have been far more valuable. All the editor seems to have done is to cut the *Journal* to publishable size and write a foreword. The title page to be strictly accurate should read: "Selected, and with a Foreword, by Bascom N. Timmons."

*University of Chicago*

WALTER JOHNSON

THE WHITIN MACHINE WORKS SINCE 1831: A TEXTILE MACHINERY COMPANY IN AN INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE. By *Thomas R. Navin*, Assistant Professor of Business History, Graduate School of Business Administration, George F. Baker Foundation, Harvard University. [Harvard Studies in Business History, Number 15.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xxix, 654. \$6.50.)

THE SACO-LOWELL SHOPS: TEXTILE MACHINERY BUILDING IN NEW ENGLAND, 1813-1949. By *George Sweet Gibb*, formerly Instructor in Business History, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University; at present Senior Associate in Research, Business History Foundation. [Harvard Studies in Business History, Number 16.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xxvii, 835. \$7.50.)

THE latest volumes in the series of studies so ably and successfully edited by Professor Gras deal with a type of business little known to, or appreciated by, the American people generally. As one of the authors so aptly remarks, people "know more about the companies that manufacture soap, cigarettes and soft drinks than about the firms that produce machinery and heavy equipment." And yet, as he adds, "in any highly mechanized civilization the makers of producers' goods are the real moulders of every-day life, for without their labor-saving products modern living standards would never have been attained."

The two companies whose histories are told in the volumes under review have long specialized in the manufacture of textile machinery; and both are the outgrowths of cotton-manufacturing enterprises. The Whitin family originally owned a cotton mill in Northbridge, Massachusetts. This led them into the manufacture of machinery with which to operate cotton mills. Gradually, their interest in the building of machinery supplanted their concern with the production of cotton goods. Although the Machine Works has expanded through the decades to the point where it ranks second among the plants devoted to the manufacture of textile machinery, it remained a family enterprise until a few years ago.

The beginning of the Saco-Lowell Shops may be traced back to three cotton-manufacturing plants, where the manufacture of machinery, originally undertaken to equip those particular mills, ultimately became a business in its own right. One of the ancestors of the Saco-Lowell Shops was the Boston Manufacturing Company at Waltham, Massachusetts, where Francis Cabot Lowell first brought all stages of the cotton manufacture together under one roof. Paul Moody built on the spot the machinery for this plant. When the center of the cotton manufacture shifted to Lowell, the machine manufacture moved with it and developed into the Lowell Machine Shop. The present pre-eminence of the Saco-Lowell Shops in the manufacture of textile machinery is the result not of the growth of a single unit, as in the case of the Whitin Company, but of the combination of the Lowell Machine Shop with the Saco Machine Shops at Biddeford, Maine.

These two volumes maintain throughout the high standard of excellence we have come to expect from the "Harvard Studies in Business History." If the later years are treated in greater detail than the earlier, that is doubtless the result of greater availability of materials, and the opportunities for personal interviews with company officials. To the student of history in its more general aspects the formative years will probably prove the more interesting. For the one primarily concerned with business history the record of the later period will provide a rich and varied fare. One of the significant contributions of the two books is the revelation, for the first time, of the part which the New England builders of textile machinery played in the development of the cotton manufacture in the southern states after 1875.

*Brown University*

JAMES B. HEDGES

CHANGING PATTERNS IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. By *Dixon Wecter, et al.* Preface by *Robert E. Spiller*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 176. \$2.50.)

THE five lectures here collected were given in the inaugural series of the Benjamin Franklin Lectures at the University of Pennsylvania, in 1948. Writes Robert E. Spiller: "From five points of view—social institutions, literature, science, philosophy, and religion—it asks a single question: who are we?"



The good sense and intellectual hospitality of these five contributors seem to fall somewhere between the lukewarm qualities of the genteel tradition and a new, mid-century calm of desperation that seems to have fallen over American intellectual discourse. If the genteel tradition was complacent, the mid-century calm seems somewhat apathetic. And despite such titles as "Science and Humanity," and "New Forms for Old Faith," these lectures betray many of the faults associated with capsule treatment of large matters.

The late Dixon Wecter, attempting a roundup of the social transitions of the last three decades or so, performs a prodigy of condensation worthy of a first-rate journalist. He fails to balance his level-headed picture of the new group-mindedness with a hard-put question about the price we pay for it. F. O. Matthiessen, discussing "The Pattern of Literature," all too willingly accepts social criticism as the function of literature. One result is that he leaves himself little time to exploit his valuable conviction that poetry has maintained a greater continuity of effort and discipline in the last four decades than prose. He attributes this, reasonably enough, to poetry's noncommercial freedom to pursue a craft ideal. He might have added that poetry's readers have learned to welcome poetic experiment and plurality during the same four decades in which the fiction audience and the fiction writer have antiartistically put most of their eggs in the one basket of a sort of decayed naturalism, and are now stuck with it.

Detlev W. Bronk's lecture on "Science and Humanity" shows our increasing awareness that many Americans are inclined to distrust scientists. Bronk looks at the matter largely from the point of view of the scientists themselves, and argues that they work best if they are free from an overorganization of their goals and techniques by nonscientists. This professional preoccupation hardly casts an eye in the direction of the many adult Americans who have never had any personal contact with science or a scientist. Can they be persuaded that science deserves autonomy by anything less than an advertising campaign which makes a point of explaining in concrete instances the way in which a scientist needs it? Perhaps many Americans envy scientists because scientists seem so happy with nature; and in their hearts they may even be mean enough to wonder why men who seem so occupationally in the clover want freedom too.

Brand Blanshard's "The Heritage of Idealism," a review of recent tendencies in American philosophy, and George F. Thomas' "New Forms for Old Faith," a review of religious thought, present once more the American division of labor in these fields. American philosophy seems to have made hardly a move, since William James, in the direction of mastering the new worlds of psychology and physics. We seem to need a new form of discourse in which speculative reason, appealing at once to the scientifically skilled and the emotionally adept, carves out a new sense of the universe. As things go in the meantime, a reborn idealism continues to think the best of man, while religion thinks more and more the worst of him. Some sectors of American Protestantism, according to George

Thomas, appear to be proud of their new "religious realism" about man. Mr. Thomas doesn't seem much concerned that while the respectable-class sectors of Protestantism pursue a course of realistic adjustment to a world of middle-class sinners, the unrespectable-class sectors give evidences of a new revivalism. If American Roman Catholicism contains and even condones its own reactionaries, thus affording them some protection, it also holds them under autocratic control. American Protestantism, by contrast, the victim of its class structure, leaves its rural, lower-middle class and unsuccessful members to the authoritarian wrath and gush of the evangelists. This, perhaps, is "religious realism" with a vengeance.

*University of Chicago*

REUEL DENNEY

CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. In three volumes. By *Anson Phelps Stokes*, Former Secretary of Yale University, Former Canon of Washington Cathedral. Introduction by *Ralph Henry Gabriel*, Sterling Professor of American History in Yale University. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1950. Pp. lxix, 936; 799; 1042. \$25.00.)

THE increasing interest in church-state relationships that has been in evidence in recent years is well served by this monumental work, which is without question the most extensive treatment of the historical development of the separation of church and state that has ever been published. As indicated by the author, the volumes are not to be considered as a legal or constitutional treatise on the topics covered but rather as a historical, factual, and interpretative consideration, referring to constitutions, laws, and court decisions only as they are necessary to show the attitude and legislation of the state in matters affecting the churches and religious freedom.

It is the author's contention that separation of church and state and its corollary, religious liberty, as experienced in the United States are primarily the products of the American Constitution and the Bill of Rights, coupled with the ideals, traditions, and laws which have resulted from them. The great array of materials marshaled in support of separation of church and state as set forth in the American Constitution, particularly in the First Amendment to the Constitution and now, by interpretation of our highest courts, the application of the First Amendment to the states through the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, goes far in support of the contention that the principle of separation of church and state constitutes America's greatest contribution to the science of government. Here in America it has been demonstrated that organized religions differing markedly from one another can exist and flourish side by side in a free society with no effective threat to democratic government, and without government support or control. And, on the contrary, it has been proved that a gov-

ernment existing of the people, by the people, and for the people can govern a free society without including organized religions in its concerns.

The author's exposition suggests the premise that not only is freedom of conscience or religious liberty the "basic freedom without which other civil and political freedoms and rights cannot survive" but that it is essential to the effective working of democracy. Similarly, special emphasis is given to the need for religion, more particularly Christianity, for the effective working of democracy, which he sums up in the following statement:

We have said enough to show our conviction that monotheistic religion, especially as shown in the teachings of Jesus, and democracy cannot be long divorced without danger. Religion, in the form worked out under the Jewish prophets and reaching its climax in Jesus Christ and the Gospels, provides the inspiration, the philosophical justification, and the only solid hope for the realization of democracy. It has been one of the tragedies of the last century and a half in Europe that because of the inadequate vision and overconservatism of the church, and the greater emphasis of the liberal state on things material rather than on things spiritual, the two great forces of Christianity and democracy drifted apart [III, 711, 712].

These aspects of the question are undoubtedly factors which led the author to include at great length social and cultural considerations which are in many instances at best only remotely related to the subject of separation of church and state. His assumption that the United States is a "Christian nation," as stated by the United States Supreme Court a good many years ago, in the light of more recent decisions might perhaps more properly be modified to define the United States as a nation in which approximately one half of its population are members of the Christian religion, a fact which has been a contributing influence in the ideals, traditions, practices, and legislation of the American government. Such a definition would more nearly harmonize with recent trends in American jurisprudence.

In marked contrast to the position taken on the principle of separation of church and state by Professor R. Freeman Butts in his recent book *The American Tradition in Religion and Education* (Boston, 1950), some of the positions taken by Dr. Stokes relative to social endeavor, the question of taxation, providing chaplains in Congress and in the Army and the Navy, and encouraging religion in the interest of the general welfare—"but . . . it [the state] must be scrupulously careful to treat all law-abiding religious bodies alike"—are indicative of the application of the principle of "co-operation" between church and state. Adherence to this principle would lead us to recognize the practice early followed in a number of our states having multiple establishments of religion, which had come to take the place of the single establishments of the colonial period. At the time of the adoption of our Constitution, in 1789, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maryland, and South Carolina had multiple establishments of religion but

in the struggle for separation of church and state these establishments were eventually abolished.

Dr. Stokes concludes that some of the difficult adjustments in church and state relationships are now gradually being worked out and that the only additional amendment in the field worthy of serious consideration at present is one which is already embodied in many state constitutions, in the statutes of most states, and in the interpretation of the Supreme Court, namely, "to forbid the grant of public funds to denominational institutions or agencies." While he advocates that the churches should take a vital interest in social welfare work and uphold the highest standards of citizenship, he admonishes them as a rule to abstain from party politics, taking part in political matters only when great moral issues are at stake. Throughout, Dr. Stokes emphasizes the wisdom that has been demonstrated in observing the principles of separation of church and state as set forth by the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, and that whereas these principles have been violated at times, such violations have been the result of a failure to recognize properly the issues involved in a complete separation of church and state rather than the repudiation of these principles by the American people.

Dr. Stokes's study of the facts of history clearly repudiates the untenable position taken by J. M. O'Neill in his book *Religion and Education under the Constitution* (New York, 1949), in which Mr. O'Neill violently attacks the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Rutledge's interpretation of the First Amendment. Mr. O'Neill maintains that the federal Constitution does not prevent federal grants to parochial schools, or to parochial teaching in public schools, when all denominations are treated alike and state laws permit, and that the First Amendment served to restrict only the federal government, specifically reserving such powers to the states. Such a position voids the principle of separation of church and state completely and overlooks the fact that Madison and Jefferson, who were primarily responsible for religious freedom guaranteed by the First Amendment, had already succeeded by 1785 in securing the adoption of "A Bill for the Establishment of Religious Freedom in Virginia" by the state legislature, showing that they were endeavoring to apply to the states the same principles that were to become a part of the federal Constitution.

This monumental work is divided into two books, consisting of three volumes of approximately one thousand pages each. There is an excellent bibliography with brief reviews of over three hundred books, a table of dates, and appendixes; an addenda records recent actions and developments, some of which occurred while the volumes were being printed. As is essential to a study of such proportions, an adequate index of 116 pages is provided. The printing and binding are excellent.

The very tolerant spirit manifested by Dr. Stokes, which is apparent throughout, may lead the reader at times to wish that the author would clarify his position more fully and take a more pronounced stand where he sometimes appears

to be somewhat reticent. But it must be said that the study represents the greatest collection and organization of materials that has ever been brought to bear upon the subject. Encyclopedic in scope, well documented, clearly written, it constitutes a veritable history of religion in the United States and shows the historical growth of religious freedom under our constitutional provisions for separation of church and state. Whatever shortcomings the study may have, and regardless of the criticisms that may be leveled at it, this much is certain: Dr. Stokes has given unstintingly of his services and his ability in making a genuine contribution to the enrichment of our literature in the field of American history and church-state relationships.

*Washington, D.C.*

ALVIN W. JOHNSON

THE AMERICAN TRADITION IN RELIGION AND EDUCATION. By *R. Freeman Butts*. [Beacon Press Studies in Freedom and Power.] (Boston: Beacon Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 230. \$3.00.)

THE reassessment of the history of church-state relations in religion and education in the United States is the theme of Dr. Butts's latest study, which is designed for the educational profession, leaders in government and society, and the general public. Disclaiming any "final or dogmatic answers," Butts seeks to furnish "the historical perspective upon which to base sound public policy." Conscientiously, he points out his personal view that "the historic principle of separation of church and state as defined in 175 years of American history is a desirable tradition to maintain in American education" (p. xiv).

Slightly more than half of this monograph deals with religion. To Dr. Butts, church-state separation means no establishment of religion, whether single or multiple, and complete freedom of religion. He traces the changes in the concept from the seventeenth century, when it meant public support and legal enforcement of religious orthodoxy, to the toleration of dissenters in the eighteenth, and to the tendency toward separation during the early national period. From the Reconstruction to the present there has taken place the fulfillment of "the process whereby the principle of complete 'co-operation' of church and state has been replaced by the principle of complete separation of church and state" (p. 107). With respect to education, by 1900 there was an "almost universal" prohibition among the states against the sectarian use of public funds and the ban on religious instruction in the public schools became widespread; in brief, "a close study of state constitutions, state statutes, and court decisions shows that the *principle* of separation of church and state in education was almost completely accepted throughout the United States by 1900" (pp. 137-38). In line with his interpretation of the historical data which he adduces, Butts regards any sort of public aid to religious schools—however indirect the form may take, i.e., auxiliary services such as bus transportation, school lunches, etc.—as detrimental to the cause of separation. He

equally opposes any type of religious teaching in the public schools, although his stand on this issue is not as outspoken as on the matter of funds. "Aid to all religious groups is as clear a violation of separation as is aid to one religious group in preference to others" (p. 150), he argues. However, he does permit the granting of health services to parochial children if they are dispensed under public administration and control.

The author's treatment of the colonial period is rather elementary for the experienced historian who is familiar with the monographic literature. The later sections show higher standards of documentation, including as they do material based on laws, court decisions, letters, and several manuscript sources. The text embodies long extracts from the Everson and McCollum decisions, as well as from other pertinent materials.

As a rule, Dr. Butts takes considerable pains to cite the proper evidence. Here and there, however, his personal views intrude in the form of subjective and dogmatic statements, e.g., pages 108-109, 129, 147-49, 158, 161, 166-67, 169, 205. Another disturbing habit is the injection of generalizations on the flimsy foundations of insufficient or no documentary proof, e.g., pages 67, 111, 118, 146. He seems to take it for granted that Thomas Jefferson's famous letter about "building a wall of separation between church and state" to the Danbury Baptist Association in 1802 and the various pronouncements in a similar vein by James Madison have perpetual legal force. This "wall of separation" becomes a solid, impregnable fortress to Butts, notwithstanding the fact that he shows on one page that he is aware of long-established breaches (p. 108). His adamant attitude is such that he fights for complete separation when there is none and never likely to be one. This eye-shutting tactic is also extended to the status of secularism in the public schools. He appears to write *als ob* there were no King James Version readings, hymn singing, Nativity plays, and other evidences of religious instruction in publicly owned and operated schools.

There can be no doubt that a good historical treatment of church-state relations in education is an essential item in these days of mud-slinging controversy. Surely, an up-to-date, objective account of this subject can help well-intentioned citizens to see the problem in proper perspective. The various monographs, decisions, laws, and other materials need to be correlated and synthesized. What Dr. Butts has done, and exceptionally well, is to present effectively one side of the picture. Although he discusses adequately the opposing views, he seldom succeeds in doing real justice to any argument other than his own. The pressing problem of the relationship of church, state, and school still awaits the hand of a more dispassionate historian.

New York University

WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN

THE POPULAR BOOK: A HISTORY OF AMERICA'S LITERARY TASTE.

By James D. Hart. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. 351. \$5.00.)



AMONG people who write books, who publish them, who review them, no question is raised so often as that of why a particular volume has started a stampede into the stores. Rather, since few books achieve longevity and most are stillborn, it is the negative form of the question that is put most frequently: "Why didn't my book sell?"

The traditional answer, given after all such literary autopsies, is: "Who knows?" As the publishers say in effect: many influences upon the fate of a book are enclosed in mystery; investigations of taste still leave an editor's task in the realm of the occult sciences, calling for fanatical faith, incantations, appeasement of the gods, and, above all, human sacrifice.

James Hart, however, has dared to write a book of his own designed to show that there is more to this matter than publishers find it profitable to admit to disheartened authors. It is not impossible to discover in retrospect what elements in a crucial situation have, in this age and in that, driven Americans to what they have always tended to regard as the reckless act of buying a book. Something in Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, in Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in Mark Twain's *Roughing It* lighted up the sky for the men and women of the day. Paine and Mrs. Stowe clarified, simplified, dramatized issues that had seized upon the imaginations of men, women, and children. Mark Twain's audience was equally broad and inclusive when he began to reveal the West at the very moment when the impulse to expand had canalized the ardor of a whole people.

Obviously there is still room for the practice of book publishing as occult science for it is not easy to know in advance which "social compulsions" will prove to be irrepressible and which will be deflected by the whim of circumstance. But what Mr. Hart offers in this book is something of substantial value: a shrewd, witty, and altogether intelligible account of what were American values in different periods of our development and of how these values came to be represented in popular taste.

This view of social history, oblique as it is, possesses the advantage of a kind of uncluttered consistency. Without being obliged to keep in mind a multitude of details about national aspiration, economic pressure, group consciousness of one kind and another, we steal a look over the shoulder of the seventeenth century reader, the reader in the Age of Reason or in the Gilded Age to see what his book is. A great deal of knowledge about these larger matters is implicit in what Mr. Hart says of their effect on popular taste. But the revealing moment of choice in the bookstore is the one he seizes upon artfully in order to show us what we have been.

Hart does not claim too much for the significance of his study. Though the "books a people choose to read . . . reflect their psyche at the moment they select them," clearly this psyche, belonging to the small percentage of people who buy books, must not be forced upon the majority of men and women who do nothing to affect the popularity of printed matter. The relationship of taste to principle is never rigidly consistent. The Puritans had a great appetite for works of piety

but they had a penchant for pornography, too. The level of discrimination as reflected in the best-selling list seems to fluctuate unreasonably. We are obliged to consider taste to have been good in a moment when everyone wanted to read *Pamela* and bad when everyone was trying to beg, borrow, or steal Gene Stratton Porter's novel embarrassingly called *Freckles*. But these inconsistencies are related to the compelling impulse to find sustaining values in the human experience. As Mr. Hart says, "The reasons for the popularity of each book may be seen with some clarity through its relation to certain drives of the period in which it found its audience." Human history in its great sweep must try to comprehend all these drives. Mr. Hart's book gives us an amused and amusing glimpse of a few of the most spontaneous responses to social compulsion.

University of Minnesota

JAMES GRAY

AMERICAN PAINTING: HISTORY AND INTERPRETATION. By *Virgil Barker*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1950. Pp. xxvii, 717. \$12.50.)

ISHAM's *History of American Painting* has been the standard work on this subject since 1905. It is now very much out of date. The first half of the twentieth century has been a period of growing interest in American art; research has discovered new material; old facts have been reinterpreted; artists little understood at the turn of the century have come into prominence; outmoded theories have been replaced by new. While many first-rate studies of individual artists have been made and important books covering certain aspects of American painting, such as E. P. Richardson's *Romantic Painting in America* have been written, Virgil Barker is the first since Isham to write a comprehensive survey devoted exclusively to American painting. His new book replaces Isham's although it does not cover quite so long a period. Isham continues until 1905, thus including Whistler, Sargent, and their contemporaries. Barker ends in 1880 with Homer, Ryder, and Eakins. Both writers include the lesser artists and artisans as well as the prominent. But Barker includes many artists who have been rediscovered since Isham wrote. Moreover, changes in taste and times have brought artists who were not recognized in Isham's day into prominence. Thus, eight pages are devoted to Ryder who received only one in Isham.

Barker's style flows easily. He includes a great deal of historical background, emphasizes the characters of the artists, and describes the characteristics of their work. While he does not attempt to cover all the paintings by a given painter or to discuss the pros and cons of attribution, he does include a very full bibliography for each chapter so that his survey is an excellent starting point for a more profound study of American painting. Furthermore, the book is very well organized. It is divided into two main parts: the colonial and the provincial, which, in turn, are divided into historical periods. The latter are, in turn, split up into sections on the artists.

The author is well-qualified to write this work. For a number of years he was a member of the editorial board of *The Arts*, has been curator of painting at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, and director of the Kansas City Art Institute. From 1931 to 1947 he was professor of the history of art at Miami University. He has also written extensively for art periodicals and is the author of two other art books. He has spent years studying the paintings for this particular work. Nevertheless, his fellow scholars will criticize his discussion of some of the individual painters he treats. It is obvious that in a general survey he cannot discuss any artist in detail, but, in many cases despite space limitations, he is not specific enough. For instance, he describes the style of Charles Bridges at some length, yet fails to mention that this analysis is based on pictures attributed to Bridges only by tradition. For, up to the present time, no signed and dated pictures by Bridges have been discovered.

Oliver Larkin's *Art and Life in America*, published in 1949, must be mentioned in this connection. Larkin surveys architecture, sculpture, and painting from 1600 to the present. His book contains more illustrations of paintings alone than does Barker's, which has about one hundred. Larkin's volume is clearly organized, has a good bibliography, and is written in a concise style. He mentions almost all of the artists covered by Barker, but Barker gives more biographical details about each artist and evokes a more vivid picture of the period in which each lived.

Barker's *American Painting* is a definite contribution to the literature on American painting. It is well balanced in the amount of space devoted to the men and periods covered, and on the whole is an estimable piece of work. Its principal deficiency, the lack of an adequate number of illustrations, is, I am sure, no fault of the author but was probably dictated by the publishers in the interests of economy. Another volume of illustrations alone would increase the usefulness of this book a thousandfold.

Washington, D. C.

HERMANN W. WILLIAMS, JR.

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN LAW: THE LAW MAKERS. By *James Willard Hurst*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1950. Pp. xiii, 502. \$5.50.)

THIS book is so full of detail that it is impossible, in a review, to do more than summarize the general classification of subjects treated in its comprehensive study of the lawmakers and lawyers in American social, political, and governmental history. It provides a wealth of material on the nature and operation of sources of the law, i.e., the "lawmakers"—the legislatures, the constitutions, the bar, the executive offices, and the administrative agencies. It does not attempt to describe the history or progress or details or doctrines of substantive law, but rather the process of growth of the functions of the governmental law bodies which have

developed in our community to make it law-ruled and law-abiding. It describes, in general, the change of subjects which have influenced the process of growth.

It is not as dry and formidable as such a statement would seem to imply, and it has been accurately summarized by Professor Henry S. Commager as "a pioneer work in a badly neglected field—combining scholarship, insight, analytical skill and narrative." It presents each of the lawmaking agencies in its bearing and effect on economics, social life, and politics—thus making it possible for the reader of history, as well as the lawyer and law student, to find new aspects of the subjects of the law.

Beginning with 1790, the legislature stands out as the first agency of government which exercised broad creative influence on our law. Since then, the structure of the legislature in both national and state governments has altered little, but the growth of legislative power to investigate has become of more importance and influence, and the increase of committee power and the growth of power of lobbies and blocs has modified considerably the legislative operations. This development of these subjects is treated at considerable length and detail.

The second lawmaking agency is treated with fullness—the courts, state and federal, with reference to their structure and tenure of office and mode of selection and their judicial power, especially in their impact upon legislation. An unusual chapter treats of "Courts for the People"—municipal, juvenile, domestic relations, traffic, small claims—as well as the subject of legal aid.

The third lawmaking agency of government is the constitutions—state and national—and the constitution-making process, the conventions and other machinery—the social functions of constitutions and contests over economic regulations in constitutions.

The bar and bar associations, as instruments of lawmaking and as effective influence on law reform, are treated at unusual length (pp. 279-375). One of the most interesting discussions is of the economics of the legal profession, the size of law firms, and the types of law practitioners with interesting personal comments and individual biographical details. In fact, as Professor Thomas Reed Powell has said, "This Chapter tells more of the place of the legal profession in American life than can be found elsewhere in any single narrative."

The fifth lawmaking agency—the executive power, its uses, trends, and influence (pp. 379-415) and the administrative powers relative to the general welfare (pp. 419-31)—is interestingly discussed.

Perhaps the most valuable feature as well as the most interesting is the bibliographical notes (pp. 510-72), which in themselves constitute a history of American law for readers.

*Washington, D. C.*

CHARLES WARREN

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS: A HISTORY. By *Foster Rhea Dulles*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1950. Pp. ix, 554. \$5.00.)

ABLE to command or persuade great material and moral resources with which to carry out a vast variety of programs, the quasi-governmental agency known as the American Red Cross is intended to reflect the humanitarian impulses of the American people at their best. This organization has gone almost unnoticed in the "standard" social histories, but Professor Dulles has attempted a corrective.

It has had a record of impressive growth, in one way a record of leadership in humanitarian techniques, but generally the institution has been a follower, a mirror of the popular mood, and not a leader. Occasionally it has lagged behind a rapidly moving world and has had to be brought up to date in painful reorganization crises. This narrative, attentive to a huge number of persons, places, and programs, is so compressed as to be, in some parts, no more than a catalogue. In a pioneer work of this sort it might have been best to limit the account to World War II, or, perhaps, to carry the story only up to 1939. As it is, the facts presented by the author raise many questions which remain unanswered. One large question will suffice here, for illustration: In 1941 there were fields of operation which were primary Red Cross obligations according to the terms of its charter and its prior agreements with the military authorities. In these areas no other agency could operate so effectively. After a study of related or parallel agencies (a thing desirable in itself) it should be possible to determine whether the Red Cross was not led thereafter into fields of work where the job could have been done better by others.

The brief bibliographical essay refers to documents "at the national headquarters." In the absence of footnotes it would have been well to give a description of the useful permanent files. And if the listed manuscript monographs could be published, most bibliographical needs would be met. The index would be more serviceable if more analytical. In listing first-hand accounts the author has omitted Jane Goodell's *They Sent Me to Iceland* (1943), helpful for an account of the genesis of the overseas club program. No use was made of the large collection of action photographs at the national headquarters, which show every service in the field.

The book gives the impression that the American Red Cross service club program in Great Britain was the first one overseas in World War II (p. 425), whereas part of the pattern was set in Iceland; what happened in Britain was that the American Red Cross Committee there, consciously drawing on the Icelandic experience and on the experience of the Canadian Red Cross, worked out the standard club operation which spread over all continents. This work is purposely not an "administrative history" but the North African operations of 1942-1943 pose puzzles which can not be solved except by a history of its too slowly emerging staff system.

A provocative hypothesis rises from reflection on this book. It seems possible that the American Red Cross achieved its peak of real strength in the First World War, not in the Second. In relation to duration of hostilities and to the size of the

American population, the second war's operation may have been the smaller one. This is certainly true when measured by dollar contributions per capita per annum. Perhaps this propounds the whole question of voluntary humanitarian programs in an age when the state is more and more used as a social gyroscope. It would be useful to have parallel studies of the Salvation Army, YMCA, YWCA, and other long-established associations to determine their peaks of popular participation. Here is an assignment which might reveal a tide in the affairs of men.

University of Notre Dame

MARSHALL SMELSER

FROM VERSAILLES TO THE NEW DEAL: A CHRONICLE OF THE HARDING-COOLIDGE-HOOVER ERA. By *Harold U. Faulkner*. THE ERA OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: A CHRONICLE OF THE NEW DEAL AND GLOBAL WAR. By *Denis W. Brogan*. WAR FOR THE WORLD: A CHRONICLE OF OUR FIGHTING FORCES IN WORLD WAR II. By *Fletcher Pratt*. THE UNITED STATES IN A CHAOTIC WORLD: A CHRONICLE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1918-1933 and THE NEW DEAL AND WORLD AFFAIRS: A CHRONICLE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1933-1945. By *Allan Nevins*. [Chronicles of America Series, Volumes 51, 52, 54, 55, 56.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 388; ix, 382; xi, 364; ix, 252; ix, 332. \$6.00 each.)

THE Yale University Press's "Chronicles of America" series has long enjoyed a reputation for its concise and serviceable volumes on American history. Written by specialists for nonspecialists, the fifty volumes in print have been authoritative in content, readable in style, and clear and gracious in make-up (if, to this reviewer's taste, gaudy and vulgar in binding). The Yale University Press is now issuing five new volumes under the editorship of Allan Nevins, covering the story from the end of the First World War to the present.

Harold U. Faulkner's *From Versailles to the New Deal* deals with the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era at home; Denis W. Brogan's *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt* extends the domestic story through the New Deal; two volumes by the apparently inexhaustible Professor Nevins—*The United States in a Chaotic World* and *The New Deal and World Affairs*—cover foreign policy from 1919 to 1945; and Fletcher Pratt's *War for the World* tells the military and naval story of the Second World War. The missing volume 53—Eliot Janeway's *The Struggle for Survival*—will be out in a few months; it will cover the home front during the Second World War.

The five volumes under review maintain a general consistency of pace, coverage, and viewpoint. With individual variations, the writing is as a whole lucid, factual, and unhurried, if perhaps somewhat colorless; the focus of concern is political, economic, governmental developments rather than the social, intellectual, popular currents; the viewpoint is a critical New Deal liberalism which rejects



the twenties but sees no infallibility in the thirties and fully understands the complexity of the forties. There are no easy answers in this able chronicle of recent American history; but then one sometimes gets the feeling that there are not too many hard questions either. The rather strict narrative form seems to exclude the raising of the larger problems or the venturing of the more audacious interpretations.

Professor Faulkner begins with what he calls "the end of the great crusade" and tells clearly and fairly dispassionately the familiar tale of the national descent into Harding's normalcy after the collapse of Wilson's idealism. He describes the economic conditions with his usual cogency, and his political narrative is candid and judicious. It is a foreshortened twenties which emerge, however: there is no mention, for example, of Ernest Hemingway or Scott Fitzgerald, and even Mencken and Sinclair Lewis flash by so quickly that the unwary reader may miss them entirely.

Denis Brogan appears to be operating under a similar limited directive, with political and economic conditions in the forefront, and the intellectual and cultural factors out of the picture. His style, moreover, is less charged than usual with allusion and epigram; one feels that he is writing under wraps, presumably in order to preserve the even tenor of the series. But he is still by far the brightest and wittiest writer of the group; and when one must operate in such a brief compass and on such a stark mandate, the suggestiveness of wit often gives a richer and denser impression than the explicitness of unrelieved fact. Thus, though the organization of *The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt* may at times seem a bit capricious, the book is informed by a lively feeling for the times which sets the bare political and economic recital in a vivid context. Professor Brogan's book is probably the best of the lot for the general reader. The specialist will also be rewarded by certain of his insights, if occasionally surprised by some of his omissions and emphases.

Professor Nevins' two volumes have the usual solid merits of this prolific writer. They are orderly in arrangement, moderate in tone, sensible in judgment, and fast-moving in narrative. More than the other writers, perhaps, he vaunts his political prepossessions (but, after all, he is his own editor). Thus the chapter on the awakening from neutrality in the late thirties is called "The Nation Comes to Its Senses"—which is entirely accurate, to be sure, but stated rather more baldly than the guild usually would recommend.

Mr. Fletcher Pratt's volume on the military and naval movements of the war wastes little time in broader comment; it is crisp, quick, and to the operational point. His prepossessions are those of geography and of interservice rivalry rather than politics. I hope it is not just the prejudice of an Army man who served in the European theater which makes me feel that Mr. Pratt allocated undue attention to the Navy and to the Pacific. In giving major space to the Far Eastern war, Mr. Pratt would seem at least to deviate from General Marshall and President Roose-

velt, who gave priority to the war in Europe. His account in general, while admirable in its discussion of the campaigns, tends to pass rather quickly over the high commands and the broader issues in the strategy of the war.

Within the limits of the "Chronicles" formula, these are five excellent volumes. But one comes out somewhat doubtful about the formula itself. The "Chronicles" simply do not, as the promotional literature ungaurdedly claims, constitute "a complete story of the life of our country and of our people." The volumes under review tend to exclude everything except political, economic, and diplomatic narrative; as a result, the period emerges without those necessary overtones and undertones which social and intellectual history alone can provide. As a result, too, of the insistence on narrative form, none of the books goes as deeply into problems as one feels certain the authors would have liked; the volumes, while intelligent and detailed, seem to be written on a level of enforced superficiality. And the end-product, one reluctantly concludes, may well turn out to be too obvious for the specialist and too low-keyed and textbookish for the general reader. I find it hard too see exactly what gap is being filled; one keeps wondering who the specific consumers are supposed to be.

There is room for editorial improvement. What I take to be slipshod proof-reading makes Homer Cummings a senator (Faulkner), transmutes George Peck repeatedly into George Peck (Brogan) and James F. Byrnes into Joseph F. Brynes (Nevins), and commits other errors. These slips will presumably be remedied in the textbook edition.

*Harvard University*

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1933. In five volumes. Volume I, GENERAL. [Department of State Publication 3839.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1950. Pp. xcvi, 1012. \$3.75.)

In no subject today, apparently, has the American electorate greater interest, coupled with less knowledge, than in the field of foreign relations. Demands for action, often based more or less upon ignorance, echo and re-echo in Congress and the press, on the radio and television. All the mass media perfected in the United States befriend us ill; they clamor impatiently for immediate, direct action upon problems which rather require much time and infinite finesse for their solution. Our national "illiteracy," with respect to the practice of diplomacy, probably is not out of proportion to that of other peoples with more experience in the art and with less excuse for ill-considered action. But the economic strength and political weakness of the United States, in international affairs, warn the American intelligentsia to assess our means, and methods, for raising the level of diplomatic understanding in this democracy.

Most educators probably would agree that the major weakness has been in

methods: that the teaching of international relations has been sadly neglected. On the one hand the subject has not generally been well tolerated on the high school level; and on the other hand in the colleges only a small minority of potential leaders have been made knowledgeable in it. However, few of the scholarly fraternity could contend successfully that the means, the materials, were lacking for developing the story of American diplomatic experience. The Department of State has been publishing selections of diplomatic correspondence under various titles from as far back as 1861; and as the twentieth century expanded the role of the United States, the content of that which became the *Foreign Relations* series grew in over-all significance and in bulk. Special, supplementary volumes also emerged, including such compilations as those on Russia, 1918-1919; Japan, 1931-1941; and German foreign policy, 1918-1945.

These volumes have of course proved invaluable to such specialists as have used them. But they contain much rich ore which could be mined usefully and interestingly by many more persons, in many more ways, to the betterment of our understanding. Moreover, the potential usefulness of the series is so little understood, budget-wise, that it is in constant danger of delay and decapitation through legislators whose zeal for economy outruns their understanding of the complexities of diplomacy. The latest volume to run the gauntlet of the budgeters and printers is Volume I of the five in the series devoted to 1933. It has been preceded, in 1949, by Volume III, *The Far East*, and Volume II, *The British Commonwealth, Europe, Near East, and Africa*; and in 1950 by Volume IV, *The American Republics*, a field to be extended into the fifth and last 1933 volume.

This Volume I bears the subtitle "General," but is not the catchall which the term might suggest. It covers efforts at international agreement so broad in scope that they could not be listed under separate country headings. Therefore, its more than eight hundred documents concern major political and economic problems bedeviling international relations in the worst year of the worst depression up to date. All this makes this volume one of the most important ever offered to scholars by the Department of State. Of its 991 pages of text 355 pages concern the 1933 phase of the Geneva Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments; 323 concern the London Monetary and Economic Conference; and 95 pages concern intergovernmental debts due the United States. The volume shows that the negotiations for all these major efforts at international agreement were marred throughout by those disputes over political objectives, trade controls, depression alleviation, domestic unrest, popular pressures, and currency manipulation which reached fruition in World War II.

A few additional aspects of international frustration occupy the remaining 222 pages of text. They include such unsettled questions as the attitude toward rearmament in the United States, Austria, and Poland; the Four-Power Pact signed at Rome, July 15, by France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy; United States reservations to the St. Germain-en-Laye convention; international action and in-

action on general trade restrictions, and on copper, wheat, investments, immigration, boundaries, and aviation law. Repeatedly, those seeking international agreement were blocked by all-too-familiar obstacles, made immovable by lack of will or of skill in the pursuit of peace. Repeatedly, the "chain reaction" among social, economic, ideational, political, and military factors is implicit in these papers. It may well be maintained that they are as much a study in economics, political science, and sociology as in the broader discipline we call history.

Canons of selection and editing of the papers have been well maintained and deserve renewed commendation. On the positive side, the Division of Historical Policy Research of the Department of State endeavors to include all such papers as give a fairly complete record of American foreign policy, and as much background material as possible within the limits of volumes reasonable in size and number. On the negative side, they aim to avoid alterations of text, unacknowledged deletions, any omissions of facts of major importance in reaching decisions, and the concealment or glossing over of what some persons might regard as defects of policy. Finding tools consist of an 89-page listing of the papers by sequence with a very brief mention of context, and an 18-page, double-column index, rather too compressed.

This volume, like many of its predecessors in the series, demonstrates to thoughtful persons that both the continuance, and the expediting, of the series remain important to the basic objectives of the United States, whether the times be those of peace or of war.

*Swarthmore, Pennsylvania*

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

ROOSEVELT'S GOOD NEIGHBOR POLICY. By *Edward O. Guerrant*. [University of New Mexico, Inter-Americana Studies, V.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1950. Pp. x, 235. \$3.50.)

THIS is a general account of United States policy toward Latin America from 1933 to 1945, with a few comments on developments since the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The author writes clearly and has rendered a useful service in bringing together the main facts. He is also to be congratulated for avoiding the country-by-country approach. By using a topical organization, he highlights major trends. There are chapters on the abandonment of intervention; on recognition policy; on the "Quest for Law" (peaceful settlement of disputes); on trade expansion; and on cultural relations. The war years (1939-45) are handled separately, in the last two chapters. The book is well printed and attractively bound.

But, for all its usefulness, this volume falls very far short of what is needed in this field. The background (e.g., the Hoover contribution to the Good Neighbor policy) is inadequately covered. Motivating forces are often neglected. In his first chapter, for example, the author does not adequately analyze the reasons for the abandonment of intervention. (Were moral factors decisive? Or did officials

decide that intervention was an ineffective way of securing United States aims?) Conflicts within the State Department, such as the Hull-Welles business, are not examined. Nor does the author try to show how much of the Good Neighbor policy was Roosevelt's own work and how much was contributed by his subordinates. The book is generally uncritical, descriptive rather than analytical; and there is little effort to explain inconsistencies in policy or to measure the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of American diplomacy.

Why these faults? In part, apparently, because of inadequate research. No use was made of unpublished manuscripts. Nor were the published sources used to best advantage. Latin-American materials were almost entirely overlooked. So were congressional documents; the *Congressional Record* and important published committee hearings are listed neither in the bibliography nor in the footnotes. The newspaper and magazine coverage could have been much better; and the author could have done much more than he did with the published memoirs of the FDR era. In short, the field is still wide open for the interested scholar.

*University of Wisconsin*

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON

THE ROAD TO PEARL HARBOR: THE COMING OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. By *Herbert Feis*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 356. \$5.00.)

HERBERT Feis has done a remarkably clear and complete job of mapping for us every twist and turn of "the road to Pearl Harbor." The decade since this road was traveled has laid bare most of its secrets. Mr. Feis had access to the State Department archives, the Stimson, Morgenthau, and Grew diaries, and selections from the Roosevelt papers, and had the opportunity to talk at length with many of the Americans involved in the negotiations which preceded the outbreak of war with Japan. On the Japanese side he had the records of the International Military Tribunal at Tokyo, the records of the similar tribunal at Nuremberg, and the very revealing Kido and Saionji-Harada diaries, as well as other documents and studies. In time new materials may come to light, but there is little probability that they will alter the story appreciably.

Mr. Feis starts his recitation in 1937, but he makes it particularly full after April, 1940. He presents as complete and detailed an account of the diplomatic maneuverings of the next twenty months as most students of history will wish to read, giving a full and well-documented account of what was said and done and, whenever possible, what the principle actors recorded as their actual thoughts. No one will feel that Mr. Feis has slighted his subject. The only objection can be to the dreary repetition of the same thoughts and same speeches by a limited *dramatis personae*. All that is left in question are the exact motives of some of the actors in their minor decisions, but never in the major stands they took, and the fascinating but fruitless question of what would have happened if something

different had been done at each stage. But such problems will still remain no matter how many scholars may study this same subject in the future.

Mr. Feis rarely injects himself into the book, preferring to leave the reader to his own decisions. His occasional judgments, however, appear to be both stimulating and sound. He thinks that in 1937 the Western Powers had their last good chance to stop Japan short of a major war, but that this chance was lost when "the only concurrent action taken was to do nothing" (p. 9). The later efforts to stop Japan he feels were doomed to failure. He sides with Hull against Morgenthau in feeling that the stronger action advocated by the latter in 1940 would have "caused Japan to move farther and faster" (p. 107) and, while admitting that Hull's arguments were "dull and inflexible," he believes that Grew and Dooman were too sanguine in their hopes that something would come of the Konoye-Roosevelt meeting proposed in the summer and early autumn of 1941 (p. 274).

Mr. Feis stays very close to the diplomatic road he has chosen to map. He describes each recurring rut in the conversations—each repetition of American principles and of the mystically phrased ambitions of the Japanese leaders. But he pays little attention to the lay of the land which determined each major turn in the road as it led closer and closer to the chasm of war. We learn how crucial oil was—how its denial to Japan was the one sure weapon the Western Powers had against Japan and how this denial forced Japan into the final decision for war. But we do not learn why or how the Japanese came to be embarked on their dangerous course of conquest. We hear of the deep divisions within the Japanese government but nothing of the forces which produced these divisions. Even the dynamics of American politics, with its crosscurrents of isolationism and interventionism, needs explanation. One cannot read Mr. Feis's book without being impressed with the futility of the whole weary course of the diplomatic negotiations. Ambassadors, foreign ministers, prime ministers, and President alike appear to be mere puppets, waving their hands and speaking their pieces with vigor, but carried along by forces over which they have no control. Mr. Feis has told us with ample detail and scrupulous accuracy what happened in the field of diplomacy, but he has not really attempted to explain why it happened. That has been his self-imposed limitation, but within it he has written a book which should remain for some time the standard account of the diplomatic relations leading up to the war with Japan.

*Harvard University*

EDWIN O. REISCHAUER

THE LORRAINE CAMPAIGN. By *H. M. Cole*. [United States Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.] (Washington: Historical Division, Department of the Army. 1950. Pp. xxi, 657. \$10.00.)

THIS volume, the first issued in the series on combat operations of the United States Army in the European theater of war, enjoys several advantages over pre-



viously published volumes, those on Guadalcanal and Okinawa. For one thing it covers the operations of a single army, the United States Third, supported by a single air unit, the Nineteenth Tactical Air Force. The task of the historian was not complicated by consideration of Navy or Marine Corps operations and the documents at his disposal, especially those on the enemy side, were much more complete than were available to the author of the Guadalcanal volume. Gaps not covered by the documents were filled by interrogations carried out by historical teams. The author served as historical officer on the Third Army staff and is well acquainted with the army and the terrain on which it operated. While this volume may lack some of the color and personalized style of other accounts to which it has been unfairly compared, it recommends itself to the reviewer as one of the best-balanced and most solidly based accounts of a World War II campaign.

The operations described in this volume, those involving a slow and costly advance in Lorraine toward the German West Wall from September 1, 1944, until the German Ardennes offensive began on December 16, offer a sharp contrast to the type of warfare carried out by the Third Army after the Avranches breakthrough in July. General Patton's army, widely regarded as an armored force *par excellence*, found itself committed to a slow, slugging type of warfare with limited objectives and limited gains. Immobilized by a fuel shortage in the first days of September, 1944, the Third Army marked time for a few days in Lorraine before bracing itself to the hard task of blasting the German forces out of their fortifications of Metz and the defenses of the Moselle River line.

Though factual reporting never quite destroys the legends built up by journalists, Colonel Cole's massive volume should go far toward dispelling the Ralph Ingersoll-Robert Allen thesis that had General Patton been given the fuel that was sent to Field Marshall Montgomery in September, 1944, the Third Army would certainly have broken through to the Rhine and ended the war in 1944. Just when the journalists assert that there was nothing in front of the Third Army, Colonel Cole shows that five and a half fully equipped German infantry divisions and a *panzer* brigade were arriving in the Lorraine area. There were the additional items which the troops committed to assault them understood better than the journalists, the fortifications of Metz and the concrete bunkers of the West Wall. These areas were defended with remarkable tenacity by German troops with long battle experience. The Wehrmacht forces in Lorraine were greatly inferior to the Third Army in artillery and tanks, but their morale and leadership were good. There were no mass surrenders reminiscent of August, 1944. In more than three months of continuous fighting the Third Army only took 10,000 more prisoners than it did in the single month of August.

The particular strength of Colonel Cole's study lies in the attention he has paid to the over-all military situation in the West and the skill with which he has related logistical factors to combat operations. The author does not ignore the frequently voiced complaint that American tanks were inferior in some respects

to those of the enemy. He admits that the Third Army fought its Lorraine tank battles with a "relatively obsolescent weapon." Yet he gives the M-4 tank (the Sherman) good marks for its superior mobility and powered turret traverse. For the slow, slugging type of fighting in the Lorraine autumn of 1944, the German Panther tank had heavier armor, but its gun had to be traversed by hand, and the M-4 could often get in three or four shots before the Panther crew could train its weapon.

By December 16, when the German Ardennes offensive dramatically altered the course of operations in the West, the Third Army had penetrated the outer fringes of the West Wall near Sauerlautern. German Army Group G, opposing the Third Army had suffered such heavy losses that the encirclement and destruction of the German forces west of the Rhine was made comparatively easy in the early spring of 1945.

Fifty maps accompany the text. The writer of this volume shows such wide acquaintance with earlier wars in this area that one is surprised to see Ruprecht of Bavaria, commander of the Sixth German Army in 1914 referred to (p. 315) as an "Archduke." The editorial assistant who prepared the caption for the picture on page 438 was obviously unfamiliar with farm equipment. These are very minor slips in a remarkably fine piece of historical writing.

*University of Missouri*

H. A. DEWEERD

THE ARMY AIR FORCES IN WORLD WAR II. Volume IV, THE PACIFIC: GUADALCANAL TO SAIPAN, AUGUST 1942 TO JULY 1944. Edited by *Wesley Frank Craven* and *James Lea Cate*. [Air Force Historical Division, United States Air Force.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1950. Pp. xxxii, 825. \$6.00.)

THE Allied effort against Japan was applied over a vast 270 degree arc: Aleutians, Central Pacific, South Pacific, Southwest Pacific, India, China. In each of the six areas the United States Army maintained a separate air force. The volume under review records the contribution of this air power to the blunting of the venturous drives radiating from Japan and the seizure of the initiative by the Allies in the period from the summer of 1942 to the summer of 1944. The method of treatment is that of the previous volumes of this solid series, objectivity a primary goal. The many elements of air warfare are covered, through strategic planning in Washington, where General Arnold withstood the demands from "every point in the compass," to the sortie in the field, with the emphasis on combat operations; in the total application the Army air effort is given its due place, no less, no more, the authors being praiseworthy straightforward on the point; command and theater interrelations in their complexity, sea, ground, and air, are succinctly described and explained. From theater to theater the air contribution varied in character, being perhaps the most decisive in India and the Southwest Pacific, but the

records of all six air forces are given with impartiality. The broad documentation is continued; wartime unit historians can know that their writings have not been forgotten.

The strongest aspect of the work is the thorough chronicle of air combat operations; the weakest aspect is the lack of a careful assessment of the results of these operations, for mission achievement is in most cases reported as it was reported in the field and the notorious factor of inflation of claims is insufficiently considered. The Japanese side of the story has generally not been probed.

There is apparently something in the psychology of combat airmen that requires a double standard: cherished belief, which may or may not rest on fact, and indisputable fact itself. When the crews come back after wearisome hours of battling instrument, weather, and foe, men dead or wounded aboard, other comrades missing, perhaps forever, the statements they make on what they are positive they have accomplished, even though questionable, cannot beyond a point be challenged. Even when everything goes well it is the same. The faith must be maintained. The commander stands on the word of his men, other evidence to the contrary notwithstanding. The report goes out; but the public and the historian should know its character.

A notable instance of the obstinate claim, one which illustrates the problems of military historians and which finds judicious review in this volume, is General Kenney's stand on the statistics of one of the most controversial subjects in the history of the Pacific War, the battle of the Bismarck Sea in March, 1943. The action resulted in a great and decisive Allied air victory, but a secondary issue, the claim of ships sunk, was unfortunately magnified beyond justification. From combat and other field reports a claim of twenty-two enemy vessels sunk was soon after the engagement jubilantly announced; Kenney staunchly backed his airmen's claim; Kenney's claim was staunchly backed by MacArthur; come hell or high water the claim would stand. When the AAF Historical Office in Washington in the summer of 1943, after careful study of the records, revised downward the results of the Bismarck battle, from MacArthur's headquarters came a message conveying the idea that action might be taken against the revisionists. On September 3, 1945, General MacArthur in Yokohama, looking back on the events of the war, declared publicly that the battle of the Bismarck Sea, "in which the Japanese lost a 22-ship convoy," was the decisive aerial engagement in the Southwest Pacific. "Some people have doubted the figures in that battle but we have the names of every ship sunk," said the general. A day later steps were under way in the Far East Air Forces for a committee to undertake an investigation in Japan to determine the exact details of the battle, the hope that Japanese sources would bear out the Kenney-MacArthur position. Japanese naval personnel intimately connected with the engagement, including the admiral commanding the convoy, who had been thrice hit by machine gun fire, were interrogated before collusion between them was possible; a clear story emerged; the number of

Japanese personnel lost was 2,890, not 15,000, the number of vessels sunk twelve, not twenty-two.

In the volume under review the evidence on the battle of the Bismarck Sea has been evaluated accurately and there is a statement that full notes on the above report, taken by an AAF historical officer, have been examined but that "No copy of this report was available for transmission to the AAF Historical Office and subsequent attempts to locate the document have been unsuccessful." It may interest the authors to know that when the statement of the findings was submitted by the committee, the FEAF officer who received it for transmittal remarked, "It is a fine job and I have no doubt the report will be immediately burned." The notes on the report have made available its major elements, but perhaps a better reconciliation of the personnel figures is possible if one knows that the Japanese broke them down as follows: army troops, 6000; Marines, 400; destroyer crews, 1650; transport crews, 690; total 8,740, of whom 2,890, army troop, Marine, and crew, were lost.

*University of California*

W. N. DAVIS, JR.

STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE FOR AMERICAN WORLD POLICY. By *Sherman Kent*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp xiii, 226. \$3.00.)

By the time of the "unconditional surrender" in 1945 the United States had good intelligence services. In addition to the War, Navy, and State Departments, there was the Office of Strategic Services, which had brought to Washington a host of highly qualified experts drawn from universities, museums, and research institutes. When peace came, an efficient organization was transferred to the Department of State and dismantled. Later rehabilitated, it was starved by lack of appropriations. The National Security Act of 1947 brought a Central Intelligence Agency into existence, but until the international situation worsened badly little attention was paid to it. Now, for a time at least, the CIA will be able to get from Congress whatever it wants in the way of appropriations, and from universities and research centers what it needs in expert staffing—but not before disaster came through ignorance of the intentions of the Chinese Communists.

For everyone in the rejuvenated CIA Mr. Kent's book should be required reading. He, a professor of history at Yale, was in various kinds of intelligence work from 1941 to 1947—first with the Office of Strategic Services, whose Europe-Africa division he directed for two years, and later in the Department of State, where he was acting director of the Office of Research and Intelligence. He has written a careful and interesting account of what intelligence is, how it can be obtained, how its accuracy can be tested, and the uses that consumers should make of it.

Intelligence Mr. Kent defines as "the knowledge *vital for national survival*"

and he adds that "as such it takes on somberness and stature." A fundamental principle is that procuring this knowledge is an operation that must be conducted by itself. Its undertaking must be in the hands of full-time persons who are specially qualified and who know the contours of their tasks. An efficient intelligence service cannot be run with military and naval personnel who, for one reason or another, should be relieved from active duty with troops or ships. Nor can intelligence be efficiently undertaken by a Department of State whose officials are constantly concerned with telegrams about current business and instructions to agents as to what they shall do or say. A State Department official dealing with a geographical area may think that he knows a lot about the problems of that area but he is unable to produce the intelligence which policy makers should have before they reach decisions.

Why this is the case Mr. Kent explains in detail with numerous illustrations of the kind of knowledge that constitutes "intelligence." He deals also with the organizational and administrative problems that must be solved before intelligence can be obtained. Finally, there is wise advice to the consumers of intelligence. The highly placed Nazis believed only what they wanted to and some of their errors would not have been made had they listened to intelligence services which were telling them what they did not want to hear.

Events since Mr. Kent's book was published have added to its importance. Two years ago it was a chronicle of what had been done and a prescription of what should continue to be done. But the Executive and Congress thought that the doing could be postponed. There was no sense of urgency. Now there is. "Never before in our peacetime history," says Mr. Kent, "have the stakes of foreign policy been higher. This would indicate that never before was it so important that the intelligence mission be properly fulfilled." Our peacetime history ended with the aggression in Korea. The stakes of foreign policy are now even higher.

*Columbia University*

LINDSAY ROGERS

AGRARIAN SOCIALISM: THE COÖPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION IN SASKATCHEWAN: A STUDY IN POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY. By *S. M. Lipset*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1950. Pp. xvii, 315. \$4.50.)

CURRENTLY accepted mythology about the conservative farmer in North American society clearly does not explain the persistent agrarian radicalism on the northern Great Plains. In that vast empire of wheat, agrarian socialism, "Socialism without doctrine," has repeatedly sought power under various guises and through numerous movements. Latest of these is the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation, which captured office in Saskatchewan in 1944 and retains its power to the present time.

Professor Lipset has very properly based this challenging study on the proposi-

tion that forces on this continent have created native patterns of organized discontent which, though indebted to outside doctrine and thought, do not develop under conditions similar to those in Europe.

Initial chapters examine the historical background of the present movement and analyze the importance of the heritage bequeathed by the earlier organizations which flourished in the economic instability of the northwestern wheat belt. These organizations publicized grievances and created class antagonisms which later nourished the CCF and gave it political vigor. With the collapse of the wheat economy during the Great Depression, old resentments were fanned into flame by the fiery preachments of the CCF leaders. Professor Lipset correctly emphasizes the importance of this historical background but his analysis would have been strengthened by an awareness of recent historical writings dealing with the farmers' organizations on the plains, the Nonpartisan League in particular.

Further chapters analyze the basis of popular support for the party showing that the CCF is not a movement of "down-and-outers" but commands the loyalty of groups possessing the highest social and economic status in the rural population. Careful studies of political behavior in relation to religious beliefs, economic status, ethnic origin, and ecological factors confirm this conclusion. Moreover, CCF leaders, unlike those of many protest movements, have not been marginal or deviant members of the community. Such factors combine to explain the recent tendency of the party to fall "victim to the virus of bureaucratic conservatism" and to espouse a parochial version of reform. Elimination of insecurity in agriculture by defending the stability of land ownership and by fighting for higher prices for wheat dominates the program of the party. The agrarian protest of the CCF, concludes the author, is more significant in the minds of Saskatchewan farmers than its general program of social reform.

This is an impressive performance which goes far to explain the rise to power of the CCF and to define the problems of an agrarian protest movement in a Great Plains setting. The study is further enriched by a provocative foreword by Robert S. Lynd, who sounds a cautious note of optimism for a generation living in "an agrary world dominated by power committed to reaction."

*Iowa State College*

PAUL F. SHARP

DOCUMENTOS RELATIVOS A LA INSURRECCIÓN DE JUAN FRANCISCO DE LEÓN (Publicación No. 1); DOCUMENTOS RELATIVOS A LA REVOLUCIÓN DE GUAL Y ESPAÑA (No. 2); CONJURACIÓN DE 1808 EN CARACAS PARA LA FORMACIÓN DE UNA JUNTA SUPREMA GUBERNATIVA (No. 3); VATICINIOS DE LA PÉRDIDA DE LAS INDIAS Y MANO DE RELOX, by *Gabriel Fernandez de Villalobos* (No. 4); LA INDEPENDENCIA DE LA COSTA FIRME JUSTIFICADA POR THOMAS PAINE TREINTA AÑOS HA (No. 5); LA CONSPIRA-



CIÓN DE GUAL Y ESPAÑA Y EL IDEARIO DE LA INDEPENDENCIA, by *Pedro Grases* (No. 6); INSURRECCIÓN DE LOS NEGROS DE LA SERRANIA DE CORO, by *Pedro M. Arcaya* (No. 7); LA COLONIA Y LA INDEPENDENCIA: JUICIOS DE HISTORIADORES VENEZOLANOS (No. 8); DOCUMENTOS MIRANDINOS (PROLEGOMENOS DE LA EMANCIPACIÓN IBERO-AMERICANA) (No. 9). (Caracas: Comité de Orígenes de la Emancipación, Comisión de Historia, Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia. 1949-50.)

PUBLICATION number 1 of the above-mentioned series is composed of documents secured from the Venezuelan archives and from *Orígenes Venezolanos*. These documents are concerned with an uprising against the Compañía Guipuzcoana, which had been authorized to manage commerce with the province of Caracas. At the head of hundreds of armed citizens Captain Juan de León marched against Caracas in April, 1749, in order to end operations of the company. Sources printed in this number cast light on that revolt and also illustrate social conditions.

Number 2 contains documents about another plot in Venezuela. Colonial officials arrested its ringleaders with the exception of Manuel Gual and José España, who fled from Caracas. Many documents are concerned with attempts to apprehend those leaders. España was captured at La Guaira while Gual escaped to the West Indies. Evidently their purpose was to organize four of the Venezuelan provinces into an independent republic.

Number 3 contains documents regarding a plot against Spanish rule discovered in Caracas in 1808. It prints the replies of various citizens to the inquiries of a royalist official. Apparently the object of the conspiracy was to erect in Venezuela a junta which was to rule on behalf of the Spanish king and which would promote his restoration.

Number 4 preserves impressions which a Castilian formed of the Indies. Upon his return to Spain Fernández de Villalobos presented his views in writing to King Charles II. The most important of his pamphlets is entitled "Predictions of the Loss of the Indies." Villalobos maintained that the fundamental cause of the deterioration of the Indies was the cupidity of conquerors and administrators.

Number 5 republishes a Venezuelan's appreciation of Tom Paine's *Common Sense*. The translator, Manuel García de Sena, declared that a country desolated by a war against the natural rights of mankind was "of interest to all men whom nature had endowed with feeling." In his book García de Sena also translated other writings of Paine, as well as the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. Furthermore, he translated the state constitutions of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

In number 6 Pedro Grases uses as a text José Gil Fortoul's statement that a

Venezuelan program formulated in 1797 proposed in germ what revolutionists accomplished in Venezuela from 1810 to 1814. To support his assertion Grases compares declarations made in legal texts during the early Venezuelan revolt against Spanish rule beginning with the "Ordenanzas" found among papers relating to the conspiracy of Gual and España. In an appendix Grases prints a series of other texts which illustrate his theme.

In number 7 the Venezuelan publicist, Pedro M. Arcaya, sketches the background of a Negro insurrection which broke out in the region near Coro, Venezuela, in 1795—an insurrection which was suppressed without bringing about the abolition of Negro slavery.

Number 8 entitled *The Colony and Independence: Opinions of Venezuelan Historians*, contains an address on the "Origins of the Independence of Venezuela" by Angel César Rivas. Tracing the influence of the motherland on his country, Rivas reached the conclusion that the emancipation of Venezuela, coinciding for a time with the Spanish uprising against Napoleon, had traits identical with those of the peninsular revolt. He reasoned that Spanish colonists inherited their fortitude from Spain while Spanish legislation continued to be the guarantee of private rights.

Number 9 reprints sources concerning Francisco de Miranda. The most important of these is perhaps the correspondence which he directed from England in 1808 to persons in Buenos Aires, Caracas, and Rio de Janeiro that is reprinted from volumes of the *Archivo del General Miranda* published at Caracas in 1930.

University of Illinois

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

THE LAST CONQUISTADORES: THE SPANISH INTERVENTION IN PERU AND CHILE, 1863-1866. By *William Columbus Davis*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 386. \$5.00.)

Two European interventions in the Western Hemisphere during the American Civil War have received considerable attention. There was a third challenge to the Monroe Doctrine, the seizure of the Chincha Islands by Spain in 1864, which launched a long controversy between that nation and Peru, provoked a war with Chile, and led in turn to a quadruple alliance of Chile, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador to resist Spanish encroachment. William C. Davis has told this neglected story and simultaneously shed welcome light on the behavior and thought patterns of Latin-American governments and peoples.

After a brief treatment of the irresponsible O'Donnell ministry in Spain which initiated expeditions to various parts of the world during the 1860's, the author turns to the most fantastic of these junkets, the "Scientific Expedition" dispatched to South America in 1862 to promote the "moral and material interests of Spain." After visiting Atlantic ports, the squadron reached Pacific shores in 1863, there to hear exaggerated accounts of mistreatment accorded Spanish settlers in Peru.

A report to Spain led to the appointment of Salazar y Mazarredo to investigate. This unprincipled adventurer disregarded his instructions and brought about the seizure of the Chincha Islands in retaliation for the alleged persecutions of Spanish subjects. Demonstrations, resolutions, and orations followed in Peru; the president declared, "I authorize any man to cut off my head if I compromise with the Spaniards" (p. 67). The militant Admiral Pareja who succeeded to the Spanish command, instead of searching for a solution, sought to increase the frictions to further his own selfish purposes.

A treaty with Peru (later repudiated) allowed Pareja to turn south where intemperate Chileans had insulted Queen Isabella II and had denied provisions to the Spanish fleet. A satisfactory explanation, an indemnity, and a salute which would be returned were demanded. This last requirement set off a fevered controversy as to which party should fire the first shot. When Chile refused to yield, saying that it could not "... confess itself guilty of imaginary wrongs against Spain, or accept the indecorous and humiliating proposal made to it to salute the Spanish flag, a proposal which it peremptorily rejects with intense disgust" (p. 219), a blockade of the principal Chilean ports was declared. Offers of mediation were rejected.

During the hostilities which ensued, the Chileans captured a Spanish vessel by "dishonorable" methods, a revolution in Peru unseated the executive, and the blockade failed. Pareja, his honor besmirched, was a suicide. The Spanish fleet bombarded Valparaíso and Callao. Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, a distinguished Chilean, when arrested for attempting to fit out an expedition in the United States asserted that the Monroe Doctrine was "simply humbug." Hostilities ceased in 1866 when the Spanish squadron limped home, whereupon all the belligerents celebrated lavishly the glorious vindications of national honor.

In this pleasing and well-written volume Mr. Davis has thoroughly explored a neglected incident in Latin-American history. He has also demonstrated the excessive concern irresponsible governments can devote to "honor" and "reputation" without inquiry into antecedents. A full bibliography and copious footnotes are included in a text singularly free of typographical errors. This is a book that the specialist may read with profit and for its color and interest should attract the general reader.

*University of Minnesota*

W. DONALD BEATTY

\* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

## General History

MOUVEMENTS OUVRIER ET SOCIALISTE: CHRONOLOGIE ET BIBLIOGRAPHIE: ANGLETERRE, FRANCE, ALLEMAGNE, ETATS-UNIS (1750-1918). By *Edouard Dolléans* and *Michel Crozier*. (Paris, Editions Ouvrières, 1950, pp. xvi, 381, 1400 fr.) Covering the labor and socialist movements in the four principal industrial nations from 1750 to 1918, this book contains no narrative or interpretation, but lists major events and relevant sources. The chapters follow, by periods and countries, a usefully conventional division of the subject matter. Each contains a chronology, and references to documents, journals, pamphlets, statements of position or philosophy, general histories, monographs. The reader is left in some doubt as to the principles of selection of the references, which of course are far from complete. Whether the authors were limited by availability of material is uncertain. They did manage to include a large number of titles, and no serious omissions were noted by this reviewer. A few minor flaws may be found in the chapters referring to the United States. On page 73 an obvious misprint occurs in mention of the opening, in 1825, of "Canal Epié." It may be misleading to state that in 1902 John Mitchell "*negocié avec . . . J. P. Morgan*" (p. 298), or that in 1914 the Clayton Act "*exempte formellement les Syndicats de toute application des lois contre les monopoles*," but that the law "*ne sera pas respectée par les Cours de justice du moins dans son esprit*" (p. 300). Gompers' pronouncement that it was a Magna Charta for labor was questioned at the time of its passage by legal experts. GEORGE SOULE, *Bennington College*

EUROPE IN DECAY: A STUDY IN DISINTEGRATION, 1936-1940. By *L. B. Namier*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester, Hon. Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. (New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. vii, 330, \$3.00.) This volume is the indispensable supplement to Professor Namier's brilliant *Diplomatic Prelude, 1938-1939*. The latter was written without the benefit of the most recent documents and personal memoirs which are now appearing in a steady stream, and they will certainly expand and possibly modify some of his conclusions. In the preface to *Europe in Decay*, he states that he does not intend to rewrite the previous work until such materials are reasonably complete. Instead, he proposes to make critical analyses of new publications as they appear and to reprint them in book form from time to time. *Europe in Decay* is the first of these volumes. It pays particular attention to memoirs dealing with the fall of France and with the Italian end of the Axis, but it also includes long reviews of the first volume to appear of the *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, the Russian *Documents and Materials Relating to the Eve of the Second World War*, and the American volume on *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941*. The essay on "The Anglo-French-Russian Negotiations of 1939" attempts to reconstruct their course from the fragmentary materials now becoming available. The conclusion is a group of documents on Czech-Polish relations in 1938 which were sent to Professor Namier by President Beneš. These essays and reviews will inevitably be compared with G. P. Gooch's *Recent Revelations in European Diplomacy*, which proved so useful to students of the origins of the First World War. They are less comprehensive from the bibliographical point of view; their special value lies in Professor Namier's appreciation that the structure of diplomacy, like

the structure of politics, is made of men. He illuminates his study of documents and books with an understanding of the ambitions and the limitations, the interests and the insights of particular persons, and he relates them to the general pattern of the European tragedy with the incisive clarity which characterizes all his work.

FRANCIS H. HERRICK, *Mills College*

THE WORLD IN CRISIS: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *J. Salwyn Schapiro*, Professor of History, Emeritus, The City College of New York. [McGraw-Hill Series in History.] (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1950, pp. ix, 429, \$4.00.) Sequels are seldom successful; and this, the sequel to *Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism*, is no exception. To assemble a factual summary of the past half-century is a task that many men given time, industry, and classroom experience could do well enough. To compose a penetrating commentary on the significant facts of the same period requires great talent, of which a necessary facet is the ability to stand outside the age. Mr. Schapiro has produced neither. In a dozen acceptable chapters he has summed up the heritage of the nineteenth century, the emergence of a planned economy, political and social progress, nationalism, imperialism, and totalitarianism, Germany's bid for world dominion, Russia's for world revolution, America's for world security, the start toward a united world, and unfinished business—all hinged to the questions, where are we, how did we get here, and where are we going. Several weaknesses rob his answers of nourishment. Mr. Schapiro believes in predestination—what is, had to be; he is provincial, completely oriented in America; he is present-minded—the past was bound to pass away, but the present, if it can be fixed up, will stay; he is so obsessed with democracy that he allows it no shortcomings—extraordinarily occupied with the plumage he has neglected the bird beneath; because he has not analyzed his assumptions he has succumbed to historical clichés of every sort; he deplores force yet dotes on the survival of the fittest. More particularly, he is far wide of the mark on the English Revolution of 1688, French nationalization, and Far Eastern imperialism; he has resorted in the case of the United States to an array of figures about production and wages that are more than usually misleading and meaningless. What, for example, may be made of the statement that in 1948 “about 8 million families and individuals received incomes of less than \$1,000 a year, a sum hardly sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living”? Admittedly, furthermore, to do business with Stalin is difficult, but in assuming that Russians are unique in believing that capitalism and communism cannot exist side by side, the author has again tripped over his presuppositions.

CHARLES F. MULLETT, *University of Missouri*

THE VATICAN AND ITS ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. By *Charles Pichon*. Translated from the French by *Jean Misrahi*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1950, pp. 382, \$4.50.) This is a sensitive Catholic journalist's account of papal diplomacy and ecclesiastical policy from the accession of Leo XIII through the pontificate of Pius XII up to 1946, the publication date of the original French edition. A notable feature of the survey is the considerable space devoted to delineating the Vatican's policy toward non-Roman Christianity and other religious groups (ecumenicity and missions) and to locating the Vatican in the tension between Washington and Moscow. Except for occasional footnote references to the deterioration of Vatican-Kremlin relations since 1946 and the elimination of an extensive table of papal dates and events, the Fordham University translator has more or less faithfully reproduced the original, though one notes that he has Americanized this markedly French-centered chronicle

by slightly moderating a sharp critique of American *impérialisme politique et économique* and by introducing a number of plates of special interest to American Catholics. The book is a selection of the Catholic Book Club, possibly to offset Avro Manhattan's *The Vatican in World Politics* (1949), with which it is roughly comparable on the other side of the debate on the beneficence of papal diplomacy. Neither writer, of course, had access to the crucial archival material with the aid of which an objective history might be essayed. For the professional historian the chronicle of the recent pontificates will bring nothing new, while for the more general American reader the delineation may seem occasionally quite out of focus, given the prominence in the foreground of French ecclesiastical detail; but once the original milieu and intention of the book is recalled, the seeming distortion will have its value in showing how nationalist and class-bound even a dutiful member's judgment may be of the workings of his supranational church. Nor can the author's social and political liberalism and earnestness about the mission of his church conceal the ineffectualness of much of papal policy for all the Vatican's extensive diplomatic involvement. At the same time Pichon unwittingly brings into sharp relief the incongruity of construing the Vatican as a "neutral power" in its temporal role while looking to the pope, in his spiritual role, as the moral arbiter of mankind. A criticism of papal diplomacy during the ascendancy of the Axis may be implied in the author's suggestion that the Vatican City and its enclaves in and without Rome should be enlarged in order that the pope might henceforth enjoy greater liberty of action.

GEORGE HUNTSTON WILLIAMS, *Harvard Divinity School*

*LIFE'S PICTURE HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II.* (New York, Time, Inc., 1950, pp. 368, \$10.00.) With their usual eye for the striking and for capitalizing the existing resources, the editors of *Life* have put together their great collection of war pictures plus a selection from other sources with a simple running account. The result is a volume that is more than the modern equivalent of Brady. The civilian share in the war effort is not omitted, but the main emphasis is on war by sea, air, and on the land in all its aspects. The number of pages should somehow be multiplied by their size, 14 by 10½ inches.

G.S.F.

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## Medieval History

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MEDIEVAL LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION. Edited by Charles W. Jones, Professor of English, Cornell University. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1950, pp. xx, 1004,

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\$6.00.) For the use of students in courses in medieval culture a good anthology of medieval literature in translation has long been needed. The *Portable Medieval Reader*, edited by J. B. Ross and M. M. McLaughlin (New York, 1949), partially satisfied the need by offering excerpts chiefly from chronicles, but to some extent also from documents, treatises, and works of literature proper, to illustrate society, politics, the church, world-views, chivalry, and learning. More satisfactory, because it emphasizes *belles lettres*, is Professor Charles W. Jones's edition of numerous examples of medieval literature in translation. There is no topical arrangement like that in the *Portable Medieval Reader*. Instead, there are sections on the Christian tradition (*Vision of Paul*, *Life of St. Anthony* by Athanasius, *Confessions* of St. Augustine, Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, and hymns and lyrical poems of St. Ambrose, Ausonius, Prudentius, Fortunatus, and others); Irish Literature (*Voyage of Bran*, *Tragical Death of the Sons of Usnach*, and lyrics); Old English (Bede, Caedmon, and lyrics); "Romanesque" (*Deeds of Charlemagne*, the *Walter of Aquitaine* of Ekkehard I, the *Paphnutius* of Hrotswitha, Abelard's *My Story of Calamity*, and lyrics, hymns, and sequences from Columban to Bernard of Cluny); Arthurian themes (Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, Marie de Frande, Gottfried of Strassburg, and Wolfram von Eschenbach); Teutonic literature (Snorri Sturluson, the *Nibelungenlied*, and German lyrics); "romance" literature (*Song of Roland*; *The Cid*; *Aucassin and Nicolette*; *fabliaux*, *Romance of the Rose*, Marco Polo, Froissart, and lyrics of Provence, Italy, and France, from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, ending with Villon; and popular ballads); Dante (about 170 pages of long sections from the *Vita nuova*, the *De vulgari eloquentia*, the *Monarchia*, and the *Comedy*); late Latin literature (the *Golden Legend*, hymns and sequences, and lyrics); and, finally, medieval drama. It is a rich anthology, rich in the variety of Latin and vernacular literatures illustrated; and the selections are extensive, the translations good. Except for Middle English literature, the greatest monuments of medieval literature are presented. Ideally the English as well as the Continental should be included. But, as the editor says, the need of translating Middle English works is not as great as that of translating those in Latin, German, Italian, and so on. In brief, this is a welcome anthology, adding abundantly to anthologies and source books that already exist. It reveals the literary achievement of the Middle Ages better than any other work of the kind. But it should be supplemented by such things as the *Portable Medieval Reader*, if the student is to learn about prose treatises on political and legal theory, philosophy, medicine, the sciences, and the like.

GAINES POST, *University of Wisconsin*

BIZANTINI E BIZANTINISMO NELLA SICILIA NORMANNA. By *Francesco Giunta*. (Palermo, G. Priulla, 1950, pp. 190, L. 800.) This little book may be described as an essay in which the author has attempted to show the persistence and influence of the Byzantine tradition in the Sicilian state which the Normans built. It is the thesis of the author that the Byzantine tradition was a primary factor in the organization of this state, for it determined the orientation of both the external and internal policy of its early rulers, especially the first two Rogers. Count Roger I was the real founder of the Sicilian state. He built on foundations whose elements were drawn from the Byzantine tradition, including the support of the Greek Christians, some of whom had survived the Moslem conquest while others came from Calabria. Chronologically the book actually begins with the reconquest of Sicily by Justinian and ends roughly with the death of William II. It opens with an introduction which covers the period from Justinian to the Moslem conquest and closes with a chapter

on the cultural contributions that Byzantines made to the civilization of Norman Sicily, especially in the twelfth century. In between these are chapters on the conquest of the island by the Moslems and the conditions in the island during their domination; the coming of, and the conquest of the island by, the Normans; the Byzantine statesmen in the service of the Normans; legislative and administrative elements drawn from the Byzantine tradition; and the influence of Byzantium on ceremonial and the theocratic character of the Sicilian kingdom. The author follows the path laid down by other scholars, men like Amari, Chalandon, Lancia di Brolo, and many others, but he does not base his book wholly on the works of these scholars. He knows and makes extensive use of the sources. Here and there one notices the absence of some rather important titles as, for instance, Gregoire's articles on Peter of Sicily and Joranson's work on the inception of the career of the Normans in Italy. My own article on the Hellenization of Sicily is cited once and is included in the bibliography but the author does not seem to have read it. He still attributes the strengthening of the Greek element in Sicily in the seventh century solely to refugees coming from Syria and Egypt at the time of the Persian and Arab conquests. This view, of course, is no longer tenable. But this is an item which does not enter into the main argument of the book which, in its principal thesis, appears to be sound. Mr. Giunta has written a good book. PETER CHARANIS, *Rutgers University*

HISTOIRE DE L'EGLISE EN BELGIQUE. Volume IV, L'EGLISE AUX PAYS-BAS SOUS LES DUCS DE BOURGOGNE ET CHARLES-QUINT, 1378-1559. By E. de Moreau, S.J., Membre de la Commission Royale d'Histoire et de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. [Museum Lessianum, Section historique, No. 12.] (Brussels, L'Edition universelle, 1949, pp. 518.) The author of this beautifully illustrated and well-organized volume is to be commended for his dignified treatment of a turbulent period in the history of the region known today as Belgium. He drew heavily upon original sources that still remain unpublished. He also consulted printed sources with the discriminating eye of the true scholar. But he paid no attention to the admirable work accomplished by British and American scholars, notably the brilliant book on the southern Netherlands by Professor Henry S. Lucas, except in cases where they wrote in Latin. Consequently, the only work published by Americans and British deemed worthy of mention was that by P. S. Allen presenting the correspondence of Erasmus. Not a single title in the English language is mentioned, while the Dutch experts are treated also with less respect than they deserve. It is, therefore, not surprising that Professor J. Lindeboom of the University of Groningen is called Lindemans (p. 283), and that in the bibliography two titles by Professor R. R. Post have not been properly spelled. This volume is divided into seven parts called books. In the first part the Great Schism of the West is ably discussed, showing that French influence during the closing years of the fourteenth century was very powerful in the Low Countries. Papal prestige was dwindling amidst the strife and confusion caused by the division between two church parties and the intervention by secular rulers. Fortunately, however, for the papacy, the ending of the schism and the favor shown to the popes by the dukes of Burgundy in the Low Countries tended to restore papal influence there, as the author shows in the second part of his book. Very interesting is the third part, which is entitled "Education and Humanism." Since Flanders and Brabant shared with Italy the honor of being the most opulent regions in Europe as the Middle Ages drew to a close, it is not surprising that the newly founded University of Louvain reflected in its student body of some three thousand members the leadership in commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture. Patrons of art

and learning abounded, as was the case also in Italy. While a large part of France was being destroyed in the Hundred Years' War, and England lagged far behind in humanistic studies, Brabant and Flanders attracted thousands of scholars and artists from neighboring countries. Nevertheless, the great Erasmus of Rotterdam overshadowed all the humanists in the southern Netherlands. We are even informed that the latter were little more than his satellites, which is largely true. Significant is the following statement on page 151: "Despite his theory of the necessity of making Christianity more of a personal, inner religion, Erasmus does not manifest any true piety." All Jesuits feel that way about Erasmus, and they are right. Another important observation is that dealing with the excellent work done in the field of secondary education by the Brethren of the Common Life in Liège, who according to many recent writers did little in that field. (See Livre V, on religious reform, p. 285.)

ALBERT HYMA, *University of Michigan*

LES JUIFS DANS LES PAYS-BAS AU MOYEN AGE. By *Jean Stengers*. [Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques: Mémoires, Tome XLV, Fascicule 2.] (Brussels, Académie Royale de Belgique, 1950, pp. 187, 75 fr.) As early as 1900 Henri Pirenne, in commenting on the role of the Jews in Belgium during the Middle Ages, remarked that they never penetrated into Flanders and that even east of the Scheldt their influence remained negligible. Not content to take the great medievalist's word for it, Mr. Stengers has re-examined the available evidence on the subject. In doing this he has relied chiefly on published sources of information. Furthermore he has confined his investigations to individuals professing the Jewish faith who established themselves in the northern and southern Netherlands and Luxemburg prior to the large-scale immigration of Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the sixteenth century. In sixty-four pages of text bolstered by one hundred pages of notes and twelve pages of bibliography, Mr. Stengers describes briefly the origin, number, and principal areas of settlement of these Jewish people and their legal, economic, and social status during the period under consideration. In most respects the position of the Jews in the Lowlands was comparable to that in neighboring countries. As elsewhere, the Lowland Jews were mostly moneylenders and pawnbrokers. In spite of their smaller numbers, they suffered the same persecutions as in France and Germany. Their legal position, however, differed somewhat in that they were not considered subjects of the local ruler but aliens. As a result their rights as well as their duties were more clearly defined in safe conducts which had to be renewed periodically. On the whole, the author's findings confirm Pirenne's view of the insignificant role played by the Jews in the Low Countries during the Middle Ages.

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Modern European History

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

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A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE. By R. J. Mitchell and M. D. R. Leys. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1950, pp. xv, 612, \$6.00.) The purpose of this book, as laid down by its authors, is to give a history of English life and society, from the earliest times until the twentieth century. This is a big order, even for six hundred pages. It is pared down to some extent, however, by the device of putting everything before the Norman conquest into a prologue and everything in the twentieth century into an epilogue. The remainder of English history is divided into four parts, "From the Norman Conquest to the Black Death," "From the Black Death

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

to the Accession of Elizabeth," "Tudor and Stuart England," "From Dutch William to the Jubilee." Within each of these parts are four to six chapters, each subdivided into about the same number of sections. These sub-arrangements are topical, as, for example, Book II, chapter III (Home Life) is subdivided into "Domesticity," "Hospitality," "Courtesy," and so on. There are twenty-four pages of plates and eleven illustrations in the text. Within the subsections, the authors seem to feel themselves free to move about with very slight regard to chronology. This is particularly true in the prologue, where the reader is jerked backward and forward between the new stone age and the Romans with confusing rapidity, but it applies to all the book and thus does not give an adequate idea of change within the very large main periods. The plan of each topic seems to be a series of statements, followed by specific illustrations. This endless repetition of detail becomes monotonous, a quality the style does nothing to relieve: it is monotonous, too, commonplace and often broken-winded. Some sections are better than others, possibly reflecting the collaboration of two authors. However, nowhere is it skillful and if a book of this sort is to hold the interest and build up into a picture rather than an album of snapshots, it must above all else be skillfully done. Possibly the chief use of such a work as this will be to provide a repository of illustrative material and much of that here given is of intrinsic interest. Unfortunately many of the topics discussed (i.e., "The Castle") do not take us very far. To accomplish that, such a book should be crammed with detailed illustration; those provided are no more than tepidly interesting. I am afraid that this is "just another book."

ARTHUR R. M. LOWER, *Queens University, Kingston*

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JAMES KENNEDY, BISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS. By *Annie I. Dunlop*. [St. Andrews University Publications, No. XLVI.] (London, Oliver and Boyd for University Court of the University of St. Andrews, 1950, pp. xiv, 494, 25s.) Mrs. Dunlop, a distinguished historian of her native land, has written a solid and scholarly book, some twenty-five years in the making, on Bishop Kennedy and his times. The first half of the work deals in great detail with the public career of Kennedy, who was a "political" bishop in the best sense of the term. From the time of his translation to St. Andrews in 1440 to his death in 1465 he was an important factor in the confused and violent politics of Scotland, and his influence was always exercised in favor of order and moderation. Kennedy rightly felt that the only way to eliminate the feudal turmoil in Scotland was to strengthen the crown; consequently he became one of the chief advisers of James II during the latter's active rule, and during the early years of the minority of James III it was Kennedy's influence which kept some semblance of order in Scotland. The second, and perhaps more interesting and valuable, half of the book deals with Scottish institutions and life in Kennedy's time. In these chapters Mrs. Dunlop discusses the constitution, such as it was, economic and social life, and St. Andrews University, in which Kennedy was deeply interested, and where he founded St. Salvator's College. The author is at her best in these pages, and has shed much light on several aspects of Scottish history which until recently have been generally neglected by scholars. There are two fairly serious weaknesses in this book. The first is organizational. After a few pages on Kennedy's childhood, the author plunges into the detailed treatment of his public life, beginning with the complicated problem of the Council of Basel. As a result, the reader who lacks extensive knowledge of Scottish conditions is often confused. This difficulty could have been obviated if some of the material at the end of the book had been reorganized and used as an

introductory chapter. Mrs. Dunlop's second fault is her tendency to idealize her hero. One is left with the impression that Kennedy was a man without blemish who was responsible for whatever benefits accrued to Scotland during his time. Kennedy was an enlightened and able man, but he was a politician too: the treacherous murder of the earl of Douglas by James II apparently failed to draw so much as a remonstrance. Despite these drawbacks, however, Mrs. Dunlop has produced a well-documented, valuable book which illuminates an obscure period of Scottish history.

MAURICE LEE, JR., *Princeton University*

LIFE UNDER THE TUDORS. [Falcon Histories, edited by J. E. Morpurgo.] (New York, British Book Centre, 1950, pp. 226, \$3.00.) This book is the second in a series which, when complete, will describe English life period by period. It consists of sixteen short essays, each by a different writer; and among these writers are many who have just begun their careers as teachers and scholars. The essays deal with a wide variety of topics; for example, government, religion, economic society, literature and the arts, education, sports, and dress. An introductory essay entitled "England under the Tudors" provides a setting for the rest. There are eighteen illustrations, mostly portraits and views of Tudor buildings. The stated purpose of the book is "to furnish readers of all types with a picture of Tudor life"; but the manner of treatment assumes on the reader's part a knowledge of the main features of Tudor history. If he once read his textbooks and still keeps some memory of Pollard and Neale, of Cheyney and Black, he will find in this small book a few hours of fireside instruction and entertainment. The essays fall into two main categories: those which present an impression of a topic and those which give a brief history. Of the first an example is Christopher Morris' introductory essay—quick and graceful, each paragraph flashing a new anecdote or shifting the angle of a point of view, yet altering little of the general scene. An excellent summary is Arthur Oswald's essay on architecture, which does all that could be done in thirteen pages to mention the principal names and dates and buildings and to place the achievement of Tudor architects in relation to the Middle Ages and seventeenth century classicism. From essay to essay pace and quality change abruptly. One wonders who persuaded V. M. Wadsworth to attempt "Country Life and Economics" in five pages, and who allowed T. L. Jarman to write on Tudor education without mentioning Ascham or Mulcaster.

F. G. MARCHAM, *Cornell University*

HUGH LATIMER AND THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: AN ESSAY IN INTERPRETATION. By *Charles Montgomery Gray*. [Harvard Phi Beta Kappa Prize Essays.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. 62, \$1.50.) This brief essay, originally written as an undergraduate thesis, does not and could not be expected to add information on Latimer, much less on the sixteenth century. It is an attempt at intellectual history, an interpretative analysis, and would have gained had the author not felt impelled to discuss, however briefly, the nature of intellectual history itself and the principles set down by Lovejoy, Whitehead, and others. It is a commendable essay, attesting the high standard of Harvard instruction and undergraduate achievement. The bibliography is well selected and contains a number of German titles, though, perhaps strangely, none in French. Many may feel that other men were more typical of the Reformation than Latimer but the author's justification of his choice is sufficiently explanatory. A good deal of space is devoted to Latimer's social and economic ideas and to the controversy over the relation of modern capitalism to Protestantism. The use of modern philosophical, sociological, and economic termin-

ology may be the reason, but to one familiar for many years with the period the spiritual fervor of the English Reformation and the generous enthusiasms of the English Renaissance seem somehow misrepresented or even lost.

ROLAND G. USHER, *Washington University*

THE LAST INVASION OF BRITAIN. By Commander E. H. Stuart Jones, R.N. (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1950, pp. xiv, 323, 21s.) Lazare Carnot, Lazare Hoche, and Wolfe Tone were key men in planning to land armed forces in the British Isles with expectation of arousing discontented elements to espouse French revolutionary principles and activities. As in Armada days, winds and waves fought for England. Stung by his failure to land in Bantry Bay (described in an earlier volume by Commander Jones), Hoche turned furiously to dispatching a small expedition to sack Bristol, England. Destiny had provided as latest commander in the illustrious succession of Britain's invaders from Caesar to William of Normandy and William of Orange, William Tate of South Carolina. A British subject by birth, general in the American Army during the Revolution, and charter member of the Cincinnati, Tate had somehow become a French citizen and army officer. Unlike Napoleon, Tate did land his troops on British soil and set up headquarters, by weird chance, near Fishguard, Wales. After a single day, February 22, 1797, of such achievement he relapsed into oblivion. His outfit of twelve hundred convicts and other undesirables lost little time in getting out of hand, while the local defense groups of Pembrokeshire assembled with alacrity, and Tate mistook, for British red-coated regulars, the Welsh women in their red shawls who trooped across the landscape to see what was going on. It was clear that valor must give place to discretion. So Tate capitulated within twenty-four hours. In 1809 John Armstrong, American minister in Paris, arranged for the forgotten septuagenarian adventurer to return to his native land. The story thus far is admirably told by the author, who has left unsought no document which might verify or complete his data. Every identifiable participant has been run down and his record searched. That the men of this remote district responded with alertness to their duties of national defense is clearly demonstrated. The sorry aftermath of jealousy, suspicion, and recrimination among the people of the little community, with delays of court trials and resultant injustices are also fully explored and recorded. One was unfortunate to belong to a religious minority or to have been a late arrival in that close-knit neighborhood of a century and a half ago.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER, *Wesleyan University*

BRITISH HUMANITARIANISM: ESSAYS HONORING FRANK J. KLINGBERG. Edited by Samuel Clyde McCulloch. [Church Historical Society, Publication 32.] (Philadelphia, the Society, 1950, pp. x, 254, \$4.00.) This volume is a *Festschrift*, written by the doctoral students of Professor Frank J. Klingberg on the occasion of his retirement from the University of California at Los Angeles after thirty-three years of teaching. It contains ten essays dealing with the development of British humanitarianism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a subject to which Professor Klingberg himself has made so many substantial contributions. In line with Professor Klingberg's own exploitation of the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, his students have continued to use them as the main sources for their studies, without exhausting their rich and varied stores. It would be invidious to single out from the volume individual essays. Of these four deal directly with the activities of the society in America; the other six deal with the convict system in Australia, early factory legislation, the organization of the Anglican



Church in America before 1688, James Ramsay as a humanitarian essayist, the attempts made before 1833 to modify chattel slavery, and education and children's hymns in eighteenth century England. Several ideas seem to be implicit in all these studies. These are, first, the significance of Christian tenets as the inspiration of the humanitarianism of the time and, secondly, the important part taken by organized religion in the transmission of culture between England and her colonies. As a kind of reverse reaction many of the details introduced by the authors showing the obstacles against which reformers worked build up a picture of overwhelming inhumanity and callous cruelty in eighteenth century society. Even the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel owned slaves on its Codrington College plantations which were left to it by the will of Christopher Codrington in 1710. The observation that "as a practical sermon the Codrington experiment long proved sadly unexemplary" is a triumph of understatement. The book is carefully edited by Professor Samuel Clyde McCulloch with a full apparatus of critical notes, a list of the publications of Professor Klingberg, and an excellent index. It is beautifully printed and put together by the Church Historical Society. F. C. DIERZ, *University of Illinois*

CHARLES DARWIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY: WITH HIS NOTES AND LETTERS DEPICTING THE GROWTH OF THE *ORIGIN OF SPECIES*. Edited by Sir Francis Darwin. And an Introductory Essay, "The Meaning of Darwin," by George Gaylord Simpson. [Life of Science Library, Volume XVII.] (New York, Henry Schuman, 1950, pp. 266, \$3.50.) This condensation of Sir Francis Darwin's longer work, now out of print, consists principally of the interesting *Autobiography*, written for the children of the elder Darwin, and a collection of letters addressed mainly to Asa Gray, Sir Charles Lyell, and Sir Joseph Hooker. Of value is the inclusion in the volume of incidents in the daily life of the great naturalist, written by Sir Francis, and an able summary of Darwin's career by George Gaylord Simpson. The *Autobiography* traces in a clear and forthright manner the growth of Darwin's interest in the natural world, an interest which provided an inner satisfaction which his early medical studies and his subsequent preparation for Anglican orders failed to give. Instead, he reveled in hunting birds, collecting beetles, and in taking botanical field trips with Professor Henslow. The most important influence of his life, he said, was his voyage in the *Beagle*, an experience nearly missed through the unpromising shape of his nose! Immediately after his return to England, he began that monumental series of notes which provided the evidence for his conclusions in the *Origin*, in 1859, twenty-two years later. Surprising it is to realize that Darwin suffered so intensely from dyspeptic gout as to be unable, after his early thirties, to endure the fatigue of field trips. Yet he worked prodigiously in rural retirement for his last forty years. Devoid of any ambition, except to merit the approval of his scientific friends (with whom he corresponded constantly during 1858-59 regarding the final form of his theory), he seemed genuinely surprised at the commotion which his principal work created. The letter to Asa Gray, September 5, 1857, was the first statement of Darwin's theory of natural selection (pp. 203-209).

COURTNEY R. HALL, *Queens College*

THE VICTORIAN AGE, 1815-1914. By R. J. Evans, Formerly Exhibitioner of Selwyn College, Cambridge, Senior History Master of Aldenham School. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1950, pp. 444, \$2.50.) This small book, seeking a place "between the textbook and the compendious work of the professional historian," and aimed at treating "this greatest of all periods" for the benefit of the student just beginning to

specialize, covers just the range of the bulky volumes of Woodward and Ensor. Upon them it obviously leans at times, but the principles of selection are so clearly held, the style so unpretentiously clear, the characterizations so good (if a thought too benevolent), the interpretations stated with such purposed provocativeness, that the work has much to recommend it to the general reader as well as to the student. It is a matter for rejoicing that, after a good selection of titles in the brief bibliography, some three dozen works of fiction are listed. Anything to disabuse the student, the American student, at least, of the idea that "thought and culture" may be studied in innocence of how the novelists of a period wrote about that period, is most welcome. Where so little is neglected, much must be baldly stated, and the author consciously assumes the risk. His chapter on "Victorian Watershed," especially on the side of education, is a remarkably complete treatment of Victorian society at its best. "Victorian Curtain" is nearly as good in dealing with a darkening scene. Few adverse criticisms are called for. The index does not list all the persons treated, even rather prominently treated, as witness "Cetywayo." Of the few slips in proofreading, one (p. 249) makes a famous dictum of Bismarck look absurd. Goschen was not a lord in 1886, and it is exaggeration to say that no member of the government formed in 1905 had held office "for half a generation." Not all historians will agree with the account of Chamberlain's role in the Jameson affair, or Chichester's at Manila. He who masters the factual content of the book may face his Ph.D. examiner with good confidence. He who reads it for pleasure and information will pronounce it a good book.

WARNER F. WOODRING, *Ohio State University*

BRITISH POLITICS SINCE 1900. By D. C. Somervell. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. 270, \$3.75.) In this pleasant essay in recent history (printed in England and published there by Dakers at 15s.) Mr. Somervell is on ground he has trodden before, notably in his *Reign of King George the Fifth* (1935). It is a little hard to classify. It might be described as avuncular history as told to an intelligent sixth-former; easily told, easily written, from the books in the author's own library. The scholar will learn little that is new from it—not even many new anecdotes: the beginner will find it an unsatisfying introduction to the subject because, for all its fullness at certain points, it lacks references and precise details where he needs them most. Mr. Somervell calls it a history of party politics; but it is both more and less than this: more, because of its excursions into diplomatic and economic history, less because it omits much of the internal history of the parties, especially of the Liberals since 1924 and of the Labor party between 1931 and 1945 (especially the influence of the amateur socialists in the years following the Spanish Civil War). It is really an essay in political history of the traditional sort. Its insights and generalizations, though usually sound, compare unfavorably with those in W. B. Willcox's *Star of Empire* (1950), whose last chapters cover the same ground more briefly but a good deal more thoughtfully. There are few errors of fact. Mr. Somervell is not (praise be!) "nonpartisan," as the book jacket claims; but until he reaches the last twenty years, when a certain bias against Labor becomes apparent, he dispenses kicks and ha'pence fairly impartially. Churchill is his hero throughout the book. The characterizations of Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain are good, of Balfour, Asquith, and MacDonald fair, of Lloyd George inadequate. This is history without tears; or, to change the metaphor, an *éclair* when one had hoped for fruit cake. And, of course, one should not complain of one's host's choice of fare.

C. L. Mowat, *University of Chicago*

A SHORT HISTORY OF CANADA. By G. P. de T. Glazebrook, Professor of History

in the University of Toronto. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. 238, \$2.50.) "Canada had reached maturity" in 1950. This is Mr. Glazebrook's considered judgment toward which he builds his case throughout this admirable book. Mr. Glazebrook follows three strands in Canadian history. These are the development of Canada from earliest French times to the present as a North American community rather than as an offshoot of Europe; the efforts toward internal unity in a country where French and English have had divergent interests, if not divergent aims; and the continued and strong ties to the British system tempered throughout by the dominant position of the United States in North America and tempered recently by recognition of Canada's responsibility in world affairs. It is necessary in so short a book, designed for the adult reader who possesses more than a smattering knowledge of Canadian history, to lay stress on fundamentals rather than on detailed descriptions. This gives to Mr. Glazebrook's book a comprehensiveness and a depth which makes of Canadian history a moving pageant of a dynamic society in which economics and politics are of chief concern. One example will give point to this conclusion. Describing the seigneurial system, Mr. Glazebrook remarks that it "has been criticized as unsuited to the new world, as discouraging initiative, and failing to promote good farming." In explanation he points out that "the latter has probably little connexion with the seigneurial system," while the first two must be considered in terms of "the controlling factors." One of these was that despite the attempt of the French government to introduce institutions under which France had become the dominant power in Europe, French institutions in New France were "so altered by local circumstances that they were almost as American as they were French. The seigneurial system of Canada would have met most of the complaints of the French peasants, and been welcomed as a practical reform." This realistic approach is a further sign of the trend in Canadian historical writing which lays emphasis upon the emergence of Canada as a North American nation.

ALBERT B. COREY, *Albany, New York*

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## THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke<sup>1</sup>

HET HANDELSHUIS VAN EEGHEN: PROEVE EENER GESCHIEDENIS VAN EEN AMSTERDAMSCH HANDELSHUIS. By J. Rogge. (Amsterdam, Van Eeghen, 1949, pp. 422.) This is a history of an important commercial firm of Amsterdam, from its beginning in 1662 until 1914, written by one of its executives. The firm engaged in trade not only with European countries and the Dutch East Indies but also with the West Indies and North America. It played, moreover, a major role in Dutch investments in land companies in the United States. Much of the material found in this work is not entirely unknown as it has previously been used by historians dealing either with the economic relations between the Netherlands and the United States (like Van Winter, Westermann, Hoekstra, and Kloos), or with certain aspects of the economic history of the Netherlands (like Van Dillen, Mansfelt, and Boot). The interesting sections describing the shipping activities of the firm represent the product of more original research. Mr. Rogge further presents an excellent discussion of the administrative habits of the firm and of the economic and social position of its personnel; these data, probably representative of conditions existing in many similar firms, deal with a subject which has hardly been touched upon. The reader will, moreover, find well-drawn sketches of the firm's directors, men characteristic of the Baptist bourgeoisie and active in the social and intellectual life of Amsterdam. Mr. Rogge accurately describes the history of the firm in relation to the general economic history of the period, but his work lacks originality of interpretation and conciseness of style. His well-documented book, however, may be consulted with profit by all those who are interested in the history of Dutch commercial houses.

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## NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes

THE DEBATE ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF SWEDEN, 1918-1939. By *Herbert Tingsten*. Translated by *Joan Bulman*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. 325, \$4.50.) This excellent study of the clash and the movement of opinions was published in Sweden in 1944 when Professor Tingsten was a political scientist and before he became editor of *Dagens Nyheter*, Sweden's vigorously liberal and most widely read newspaper. The power of Tingsten's prose is dimmed by a translation which is too wordy but which is both accurate in meaning and smooth. One might quibble over why "remiss debate" is not translated to "policy debate," or why the the Åland Islands are called Aaland—a Danish spelling which is both inapplicable and obsolete. Terms like Riksdag and the names of newspapers are quite properly left in Swedish. The documentation of the original has been reduced, but the English edition gains by the index. Tingsten's work belongs in the same category as E. M. Carroll's volumes (*French Public Opinion on Foreign Affairs, 1870-1914*, and *Germany and the Great Powers, 1866-1914*). The focus is slightly different, due chiefly to Tingsten's exhaustive examination of parliamentary debates, but Tingsten himself says that "the

discussion on foreign policy in Sweden during this period was only conducted to a very limited extent in the Riksdag. By far the most important source is the Press." The description and analysis of what people said in the Riksdag and the press is put with remarkable impartiality and clarity. But there is almost no attempt to explain why particular persons or groups thought as they did; for the English and American reader unversed in the dynamics of Swedish party politics this is of course more frustrating than for a Swede, but it is a lack for both. The book deals primarily with public word and act, not with cause. In the discussion of the League of Nations the bulk of the treatment is on successive issues; at the end comes a useful analysis of the general policy of the various newspapers. The Åland Islands problem is treated at length, Scandinavian co-operation and the defense question more briefly. This study has particular value because it illuminates the attitude and action of a small nation, a nation of intelligence and good will, whose self-interest was in justice above all else. The great states would do well to study and ponder the play of skepticism, hope, and disillusion which succeeded one another as Sweden attempted to co-operate with the League in building the better world. Here is a superb textbook for statesmen.

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FINLAND: THE ADVENTURES OF A SMALL POWER. By *Hugh Shearman*. [Library of World Affairs, No. 13.] (London, Stevens and Sons, 1950, pp. xi, 114, 10s. 6d.) This is a small but a pretty good book. To be sure, the author manages at times to show that certain parts of the subject he has chosen to write about are unknown to him, and that he does not always quite succeed in the difficult business of generalizing about the distant past. Two illustrations will suffice. He contends that the Finns have "never quite forgiven the Swedes" for the historical debt Finland owes the Swedes, and concludes, in another connection, that despite more than six centuries of common history with the Swedes, the Finns have "never become assimilated" to the institutions, customs, etc., of their "former Swedish rulers." Both these conclusions suggest that Mr. Shearman has failed by a wide margin to master even some of the larger and more obvious aspects of Finland's historical evolution. The author's main concern, however, is the period since 1809, and well over one half of his book is devoted to the years after 1914-1918. In broad outline, the treatment of the past thirty years is satisfactory and can be recommended as a brief introduction to Finland's history since the founding of the Republic. But here also some of the detail is at times distressingly out of focus. Thus, for example, the second phase of Finland's war with Russia in 1941-1944 is ascribed, in considerable degree, to the success of German, and the failure of British, news and propaganda. The reason for such superficial understanding of decisive realities, and for other shortcomings that rob the author of an unqualified commendation, may be that he has not been able, as far as one can tell, to make use of pertinent literature in Finnish or Swedish.

JOHN H. WUORINEN, *Columbia University*

ELI F. HECKSCHERS BIBLIOGRAFI, 1897-1949. Edited by *E. Söderlund*. (Stockholm, Ekonomisk Historiska Institutet, 1950, pp. 122, kr. 3.00.) A bibliography of the scholarly productivity of Sweden's most prolific economic historian.

GESCHICHTE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEINS: EIN GRUNDRISS. By *Otto Brandt*. 4th edition, with the aid of Herbert Johnkuhn. (Kiel, 1949, pp. 231, 9.75 DM.) A new and expanded edition of this convenient handbook on the tangled history of these border areas.

DANMARK-NORGES TRAKTATER, 1523-1750. Med dertil hørende aktstykker. Ellevte bind, 1699-1700. Edited by *Carl S. Christiansen*. (Copenhagen, G.E.C.Gad, 1949, pp. 436, kr. 20.) This treaty series now has reached the opening of the eighteenth century. The eleventh volume, like the tenth, is edited by the late Carl S. Christiansen. In this volume as well, the background surveys accompanying the important documents in many cases constitute solid and substantial historical essays—much after the pattern established in earlier volumes by the initial editor, L. Laursen.

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## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

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## ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*

ATTI DEL CONGRESSO DI STUDI STORICI SUL '48 SICILIANO (12-15 GENNAIO 1948). Edited by *Eugenio Di Carlo* and *Gaetano Falzone*. (Palermo, Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, Comitato di Palermo, 1950, pp. 368.) Somewhere Luigi Sturzo wrote that the traditions of modern Italy derive from 1848. The centenary of that revolutionary year provided added motive for discussion and writing on a topic which in any case is of perennial interest to Italian modern historians. This book consists of the minutes of the five sessions of the congress of historical studies on the movement of 1848 in Sicily and some twenty-seven papers on detailed aspects of the subject. Alberto M. Ghisalberti gave the initial paper on "Preliminary Considerations on 1848," and Niccolò Rodolico discussed the *italianità* of the Sicilian movement. Other papers took up such themes as: England and the Minto mission; military aspects; Mazzini and Sicily; the Sicilian parliament; unpublished source materials; erroneous interpretations; the university students; the national guard; female participation; participation of the people; the Sicilian revolt in relation to Italian national unity. Hungary comes in for attention by three papers respectively on the themes of: Kossuth and the Sicilians; Italian public opinion on the common Italo-Hungarian war for independence; the Sicilian revolution of 1848 in contemporary Hungarian opinion. The nine other papers are chiefly concerned with the work of individuals.

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## RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson<sup>1</sup>

KRÓLOWA BONA (1494-1557): CZASY I LUDZIE ODRODZENIA. In two volumes. By Władysław Pocięcha. [Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Wydział Historii i Nauk Społecznych.] (Poznan, Society of the Friends of Science, 1949, pp. vii, 322, 598.) These two big volumes are only the first half of a biography

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

of Queen Bona Sforza, the second wife of Sigismund I, king of Poland (1506-1548), which Dr. Pociecha has been preparing for many years and completed under the most difficult conditions of the German occupation. Based upon exhaustive research in many Polish and Italian archives, as well as those of Vienna and Königsberg, the work—as indicated in the subtitle “Times and Peoples of the Renaissance”—shows the queen against the whole background of the period. The first volume tells the full story of her ancestors, both the Sforzas of Milan and the Aragonian kings of Naples (her mother’s family), and describes Bona’s childhood and education in Italy until her marriage, celebrated in Cracow in 1518. In the second, much larger volume, the life at the court of Sigismund I and Bona is studied with special attention given to cultural relations with Italy, and then almost the whole history of Poland from 1518 to 1528 is discussed, the three long chapters on foreign policy being particularly important. One of them, entitled “Between the Habsburgs and France,” is an outstanding contribution to the great European problem of rivalry between the two dynasties which were looking for an alliance with Poland; another one examines in detail the problem of the Bohemian and Hungarian succession after the battle of Mohács (1526). In both matters Bona, though a relative of Emperor Maximilian I who had suggested her as a bride to the king of Poland, turned against the Habsburgs, in connection with the question of her Italian heritage which the noted humanist Johannes Dantiscus, as Polish ambassador, claimed in vain from Charles V. The chapter dealing with that mission is of special interest because of the rich information, political and cultural, contained in the ambassador’s reports. In all these issues the role of the highly intelligent and ambitious queen was certainly considerable, and so it was in Poland’s and Lithuania’s internal policies, which are reviewed in the last chapter. But on some occasions the author seems inclined to overrate her influence and also to defend her too decidedly against the criticism of both her contemporaries and earlier historiography. Many of these charges were indeed biased and unfair, coming largely from the partisans of the Habsburgs. But Dr. Pociecha goes perhaps too far in the opposite direction, especially when he vindicates the Machiavellian ideas on political expediency, relations between church and state, and methods of action, which Bona tried to apply in Poland. These controversial issues will appear even more clearly in the following volumes, since the influence of the queen was undoubtedly growing in the later part of the reign of her aging husband. The new material which Bona’s first truly scholarly biographer has collected and ably interpreted is so unusually rich that his book will prove indispensable to any serious student of the early sixteenth century. Even those who do not read Polish will benefit not only from the seventeen documents published as appendixes but also from many hundred others, most of them in Latin, many in Italian and German, which are quoted sometimes in full in almost a thousand notes. These notes which in the second volume alone cover 130 pages of small print, are not simple references, but sometimes develop the matter treated in the text, not without offering valuable indications for further research far beyond the main topic of the book. It is to be expected that the two other volumes will appear in the near future.

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THE ELECTION TO THE RUSSIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF 1917. By *Oliver Henry Radkey*, Fellow in Slavic Studies, Hoover Institute, 1947-1948. [Harvard Historical Monographs, XXI.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. 89, \$2.50.) Of Radkey’s admirable monograph it may appropriately be said that if it had not been written, it would have been necessary to write it. It is so competent within its limited compass that the brevity becomes a matter of regret, the more so

in view of its being the sole study on the subject in a Western language. The substantive value of the inquiry is not, however, impaired by its brevity, for within its strict terms of reference it excels any preceding investigation. The monograph's primary excellence lies in the assembly of the most complete statistical data on the election found to date. Students of the period will be especially grateful for the table entitled "Election Returns by Districts," about which the author says that while it is not a "definitive compilation," it represents "the fullest and most accurate set of returns in existence." Related questions growing out of the election results are answered with perception and eminent soundness. These questions include the following: How free was the balloting? How politically mature was the electorate? What were the fundamental regional divergencies and their underlying meanings? How and why did the major parties fare in the election? What were the over-all factors that determined the outcome? Particular interest will be found in the author's discussion of what he calls the "inflamed and evanescent" mood of the electorate (p. 73) as revealed by a comparison with the results in local elections held some months previously (pp. 52-53). A more extensive treatment of the subject was no doubt precluded by the established format of the "Harvard Historical Monographs" series. Yet one cannot help expressing regret at this, for an elaboration of the antecedents and also perhaps of the dubious subsequent "history" of the Constituent Assembly (of the nature found, for instance, in Vishniak's study) would unquestionably have proved instructive to Western readers.

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## Near Eastern History

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## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard<sup>1</sup>

THE BEGINNINGS OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN. By *Nobutaka Ike*. [Issued under the Auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations and the Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution and Peace.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1950, pp. xvi, 246, \$3.50.) Dr. Ike's prime contribution in this book is his presentation, from original sources, of the ideas of Japanese scholars, journalists, and public men who were actors on the political stage during the closing years of Tokugawa and the first two decades of Meiji. His study is not only scholarly but written in an interesting style, with concern for the nonspecialist. While the author does not attempt to upset basic conclusions of accepted Western writers, he would amend them to give greater weight to evidence that a vigorous democratic movement waxed and waned between 1874 and 1884. He credits the Tosa ex-samurai Itagaki Taisuke with the leadership of the movement and he intimates that had Itagaki persevered aggressively until the constitution of 1889 was promulgated that document might well have been an instrument of liberty. Against a background of economic distress incident to the transition from feudalism to centralized government and industrialism, Dr. Ike identifies, as elements in the democratic movement, young discontented samurai, landlords, and tenant farmers, wage earners, teachers and journalists. He traces and analyzes the rise and decline of political parties. Especially valuable is his treatment of the influence of Western political philosophy and the writings of Nakae Chomin and Ueki Emori. Moving beyond his chosen period, he adds a thoughtful, optimistic chapter on the prospects for democracy in Japan. "Democracy" is a very large tent but to this reviewer "movements for democracy" is a more accurate description than "democratic movement" for the disparate expressions of opposition to Restoration oligarchy that give fresh color to early Meiji. Indeed, as the author is careful to point out, such factors as political ambition and resentment against heavy taxation were more obviously stimulative of public gatherings and other group activities than interest in the attainment of political and civil rights. He is warranted, however, in exercising the same license in terminology that he finds in the histories of Western peoples at comparable stages of development. He has added importantly to our knowledge and prompted further research for elusive data in a significant field.

HAROLD S. QUIGLEY, *University of Minnesota*

MAO TSE-TUNG, RULER OF RED CHINA. By *Robert Payne*. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1950, pp. xvii, 303, \$3.50.) This biography is "a study of the mind of Mao Tse-tung from his birth . . . to his arrival in Peking as conqueror of China in 1949." The author devotes considerable attention to the intellectual atmosphere in China during Mao's formative years and analyzes such of Mao's writings as were available to him. The book may be useful in tracing for the general public Chinese political developments, the growth of the Communist movement, and Mao's increasingly important part in both. It will be of little value to historians, however, as it is full of errors and essentially undocumented. Assertions of the most dubious accuracy on matters of genuine controversy among historians are strewn through the pages. To pick a single example: Payne is aware of the uncertainty as to who participated in the First Congress of the Chinese Communist party, yet he gives a list of twelve who

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

"certainly were" present. The first on his list, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, almost certainly was not there, and several others are not found among names given in early party histories and careful Japanese studies. Offering no evidence, Payne merely confuses this problem. His recital of the fate of the twelve is thus rather beside the point. Probably we will find his list repeated by later popularizers. Problems of this sort arise throughout the book. The biography reflects the growth in China of a legendary Mao like the legendary Stalin. It stresses Mao's early revolutionary tendencies and devotion to the peasantry and magnifies his early importance in the party. Thus, Mao is pictured in early boyhood as holding "endless secret discussions" with laborers employed by his father, listening to their complaints and advising them on how to deal with him. One of Payne's most important sources is the life story which Mao told to Edgar Snow in 1936, recorded in *Red Star over China*. A close comparison shows, however, that in his account of Mao's youth and early career in the party Payne has heightened the revolutionary flavor of many events, or placed them earlier in the hero's life than Mao did himself, or has made Mao the leader rather than a participant. This colorful reworking may have come from Payne's discussions with Hsiao Chu-chang (Hsiao San: Emi Siao), a boyhood friend of Mao. Characteristically, Payne fails to make specific the source of his evidence. This book was not written for historians. But should the "general public" be offered a life of Mao which on many major points will not bear historical scrutiny?

C. MARTIN WILBUR, *Columbia University*

PEKING DIARY: A YEAR OF REVOLUTION. By *Derk Bodde*. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1950, pp. xxi, 292, \$3.75.) Professor Bodde has a rare combination of qualifications for writing the story of Peking's year of revolution, 1948-49. He is a historian of Chinese thought, an experienced student of Chinese traditional customs, a long-time resident in China before the great changes of the past decade, and an informed analyst of the Chinese political scene. In his important and readable diary, observed fact is scrupulously distinguished both from interpretation and from supplementary second-hand information. The narrative opens with a sober, documented account of progressive decay in every sphere of social and personal life in the last days of the Nationalists. Moving into an economic, political, social, and cultural vacuum, the Chinese Communists began the difficult task of remaking traditional Peking into the capital of a new state. During the crucial early months of the transition, Bodde wandered into neighborhood political meetings, took careful notes on the decisions of the People's Courts, and observed the changes in the school curriculum. He discussed the Communists' taxation and price policies with businessmen and with housewives. He went to the revolutionary theater and watched the audience as well as the stage. He strolled with the crowds in the parks on summer evenings and was an informed visitor at exhibitions of both traditional and revolutionary art. He is at his best in describing and interpreting the swift metamorphosis of the Western-oriented liberal of yesterday into an enthusiastic supporter of the new government. He is one of the few Westerners competent to treat judiciously this ominous development and to suggest policies by which some of the damage might in the long run be undone. As Bodde watched the great release of human energy and initiative and the rapid growth of disciplined co-operative effort, he came to doubt the statements of many experienced and influential Americans to the effect that the Chinese Communists could not win popular support nor provide stable and effective government. The basic factors which this modest and unassuming diary describes are precisely the factors which have been so disastrously underestimated in our strategic intelligence. The book is well written, with great feeling for the sights and sounds of Peking life.

While for the specialist it is a careful memoir, the general reader will find a complicated and dynamic political situation described simply and understandably through the experience of an American family. MARY C. WRIGHT, *Stanford University*

BURMA. By D. G. E. Hall, Professor of History of Southeast Asia in the University of London, Formerly Professor of History in the University of Rangoon. [Hutchinson's University Library, No. 46.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1950, pp. 184, \$1.60.) Professor Hall's brief but scholarly summary of the writings of leading British students of the history of Burma (principally Harvey, Luce, Furnivall, and Hall himself) is to be heartily welcomed. One of its most attractive features is the author's careful presentation of results of the researches in Burma's early history by Professor G. H. Luce of the University of Rangoon, a body of scholarly data heretofore not easily accessible. The freshness and vitality of the author's historical appraisal carries pretty well through his account of the nineteenth century; his concluding chapters are less satisfactory. For one thing the author obviously ran out of space, for three short chapters (30 pages) are not sufficient to cover the critical sixty-year period since 1890. He apparently refused to follow Furnivall the whole way, found the sources too voluminous to re-examine, and contented himself for the most part with characteristic generalizations which tend to put British policy in a good light but do not explain why it failed. The account, in other words, is largely a description of political developments with little attention to the economic, social, and psychological factors which supplied the dynamics of the process of change. The author's short chapter on economic and social evolution makes no effort to integrate this data into the context of gathering revolutionary forces. More specifically, he does not discuss the influence of the British mercantile community in fashioning the traditional laissez faire policies of the government, which neglected basic land reforms; he says little to explain the growing popular hostility to the police and to the government itself; he fails to comment on the irrelevance of the university curriculum to any practical objective save that of preparing candidates for Civil Service examinations. Hall's final chapter on the Japanese occupation and the postwar period is apologetic in tone and repeats several generalizations of questionable validity. Even so, the book is probably the best general summary of Burma's political history in print and should be widely used. It contains a good outline map and a useful three-page bibliography.

JOHN F. CADY, *Ohio University*

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## United States History

Wood Gray<sup>1</sup>

### GENERAL

THE FORMATION OF AN AMERICAN TRADITION: A RE-EXAMINATION OF COLONIAL PRESBYTERIANISM. By Leonard J. Trinterud, Associate Professor of

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.



Church History, McCormick Theological Seminary. (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1949, pp. 352, \$6.50.) The conclusion to which this re-examination leads is that the group which came to be known as the New Side, aided by the Great Awakening, so shaped colonial Presbyterianism that there emerged "a Church which was both one with all the centuries and peoples and yet was as new as the world in which it was growing." This result was not achieved without continual and bitter conflict. For a time there was a possibility that the Presbyterian Church would be a mere colonial offshoot of some foreign church and not an integral part of American life. Dominant for years in the synod formed in 1716, was a Scotch-Irish group, backward-looking, intensely orthodox and polemic, more insistent upon creedal subscription than upon moral integrity and vital piety. A more moderate group, with New England background, offered some opposition; but in the writer's view it was the Log College group, centering about the Tennents, composed of men as basically orthodox as their opponents but insistent upon practical piety, evangelistic, and missionary-minded that did most to shape the pattern which Presbyterianism was to take. Ejected from the synod in 1741 because of their revival activities, they seemed to have gone down to defeat, but the coming of George Whitefield and the Great Awakening brought into the church a large number of sympathetic laity, and the union of the Tennent and New England groups that followed made their influence dominant. Although after the War of the Revolution a conservative reaction set in, which in the nineteenth century enabled the Old School party to discredit the achievements of these pioneers, to them, nevertheless, belongs the credit of working out a wise creedal policy, quickening the spiritual life of the church, revitalizing its ministry, and securing for the laity a greater part in its life. The narrative contains much about educational activities in the Middle States, where the church had its early growth, and some lucid analysis of doctrinal differences. In fact, the whole account has a clarity and sustained interest which ecclesiastical histories frequently lack. The later chapters deal with the contributions of the church to the Revolution, its reaction to the threat of Anglican Establishment, its social and missionary activities, and the founding of the General Assembly. It is based on original sources and is carefully documented, but a more comprehensive index would make it more useful for reference. It will doubtless be for a considerable time one of the chief authorities on the period of which it treats.

HARRIS E. STARR, *New Haven, Connecticut*

**JOURNALS AND JOURNEYMEN: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF EARLY NEWSPAPERS.** By *Clarence S. Brigham*. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950, pp. xiv, 114, \$2.50.) Mr. Brigham's *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, published in 1947 in two quarto volumes, was the culmination of nearly four decades of travel and research. It gave proof, if such were needed, that its author was the pre-eminent scholar in this field, and it brought to fruition one of the most ambitious bibliographical enterprises to be carried out by any one person in this century, if not in all our nation's history. The present essays, based on his lectures as Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography, are, as the author states in his preface, "an outgrowth" of that larger study. *Journals and Journeymen*, subtitled "A Contribution to the History of Early American Newspapers," consists of fifteen essays, varying in length from three to eighteen pages. They cover a wide range of topics, including "History of Early Newspapers"; "Titles of Newspapers"; "Newspaper vs. Magazine"; "Circulation"; "Subscription Worries"; "The Time-Lag in News"; and "Early Collections of Newspapers." The volume is carefully documented but has neither index nor bibliography. It is difficult to do a brief review of this volume because every essay seems worthy of consideration. Some of them, especially the brief comment on news

rooms at the start of the nineteenth century, the longer essay on carriers' addresses, and William Goddard's letters to Isaiah Thomas, the latter printed here for the first time, are significant additions to our historical knowledge. The attention to advertising is both important and interesting. The author points out that, in the colonial period as today, advertising was the chief source of income for the newspaper publisher. He quotes a French observer, in 1834, who said that American newspapers were "chiefly mere advertising sheets; they do not direct public opinion, they follow it." The essay on illustrations, with detailed discussion of the early use of woodcuts, is outstanding. The section on women newspaper publishers presents much information not available in any other secondary source. This reviewer would have welcomed more material from the Revolutionary years, on editorial scurrility, for example. Yet to ask for more is not to criticize. These essays are scholarly, unusual, and intriguing. They add significantly to our knowledge and appreciation of early newspaper history.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN, *State University of New York at Cortland*

CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN: AMERICAN GOTHIC NOVELIST. By Harry R. Warfel. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1949, pp. xi, 255, \$4.50.) Perhaps the most charitable way to review this slender but welcome book is to grant Mr. Warfel his right to present a study which is strictly biographical rather than ideological, a study (without footnotes or full bibliography) which paints a portrait with a broad brush designed not for the scholar but for the "general reader." (The book has already been considerably censured by scholars in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* [LXXIV (October, 1950), 541-42], in *American Literature* [XXII (November, 1950), 365-67], and in the *London Times Literary Supplement* [Mar. 3, 1950]). So far as the book embodies new material it is mostly concerned with Brown's interesting relation with his friend, Dr. Elihu Smith, whose "manuscript diary" for the 1794-1798 period Mr. Warfel has had the privilege of using. Brown was subject to morbid moods in which he discussed suicide, and Dr. Smith as a sort of amateur psychiatrist evidently encouraged Brown to divest himself of his morbidity in writing fiction. This is of course interesting as an oddity, but perhaps scholars will be more interested in the fact that Dr. Smith, whose later views had much in common with those of Godwin and Paine, also diagnoses Brown's "case" as follows: "J. J. Rousseau had too many charms in your eyes not to captivate you and incite you to imitate him" in allowing sensibility to convince you that imaginary misfortunes are real; but to this "diseased apprehension" "*Godwin came, & all was light.*" In other words, Dr. Smith thought that rationalism (of a politically radical sort) would cure Brown's addiction to morbid sensibility. However, Mr. Warfel tends to emphasize other influences and does not try very hard to follow up this interesting "lead," nor to analyze the curious ways in which rationalism and sensibility are related in Brown's complex mind. Summary chapters dealing with Brown's successive novels are provided, but these do not supersede F. L. Pattee's introduction to *Wieland* or Ernest Marchand's introduction to *Ormond*. Historians will be interested in Mr. Warfel's chapter on Brown as the author of four political pamphlets (pp. 203-19) which show his final hostility to Jefferson from the standpoint of a turn to Federalism explained in part by Brown's association with his brothers' commercial ventures which were hurt by the embargo, and by Brown's marriage into the Presbyterian Linn family. Mr. Warfel writes suavely, and it is to be hoped that his pleasant enthusiasm in this "popular" biography will inspire a historian of ideas and society to undertake a precisely documented and logically incisive explanation of one of the most puzzling minds in early American literature.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK, *University of Wisconsin*

LEWIS CASS, THE LAST JEFFERSONIAN. By *Frank B. Woodford*. (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1950, pp. ix, 380, \$5.00.) *Lewis Cass, the Last Jeffersonian* is a valuable study. The late Professor A. C. McLaughlin had demonstrated the stature of Cass in spade work that lifted the Polk to Buchanan era into a greater dignity than post-Civil War northern interpreters had admitted. But the very engaging personality of Cass merited a warmer approach than McLaughlin's, an approach which the present author meets humanely and adequately. In a career extending from 1782 and the eve of peace with England to the termination of the Civil War, Cass was the knight *sans peur* and essentially *sans reproche*. The War of 1812, so ruinous to his superior officer, William Hull, enhanced rather than damaged Cass's reputation. The enormous exertions of Cass as proconsul for the vast territory of Michigan and the Lakes gave scope to administrative talents of the highest order. Subsequent services as Secretary of War and minister to France made of Cass a national figure, with a reasonable claim upon the presidency both in 1844 and 1848, a claim just a trifle too good in a day when great men were less available for the highest office than were their more obscure competitors. A final service, officially climactic, was the Secretaryship of State under James Buchanan. Although his career spanned almost the entire gamut of slavery agitation, Cass manifested a rather cool detachment toward the issue. He was a northerner with no incitement to fanaticism, like Garrison's, no personal contacts to awaken moral indignation. Rather his was the politician's instinct for compromise. But it may be conceded that so complete an indifference to a great moral issue seems a character blemish. At his funeral in 1866, the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches shared with Free Masonry in tribute to a true Democrat, more Jeffersonian than Jacksonian, a great American undisturbed by visions of a socialistic future.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS, *Purdue University*

AMERICANS FROM NORWAY. By *Leola Nelson Bergmann*. [Peoples of America Series.] (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1950, pp. 324, \$3.50.) The title of this volume is happy and accurate. No European contribution to our racial conglomerate is more American before it passes Bedloe Island than the contingent from Norway. Freedom from class lines, love of liberty, and the appreciation of personal worth is bred in them by their history and their life in the valleys and on the fiords of their native land. The proof of this is the number of distinguished names in this volume who are only the second generation in their new home. Proportionately, the group of leaders in arts, sciences, and culture with Norwegian ancestry is larger in the United States than any other foreign element. The large number who came from the land and the sea were dead set on education for their children. I think of one large family of children where the father was a railroad section foreman and the home at first was a boxcar, but every child went to college—a story repeated with farm homes for background. In later years the immigrant has more often than in the earlier years come with his education finished and his professional competence ready for testing. Mrs. Bergmann was happy in her selection of a subject and equally happy in the treatment she has given it. She sets the scene by a sketch of the land and of the Norwegian as he looks, lives, thinks, and acts. She carries him across the seas to the new land and scatters him over its broad acres from "Stavanger to Ellenaais" and Wisconsin and Iowa and Minnesota and the far Northwest. Then she gathers him up in his churches, colleges, city homes (Chicago, Minneapolis, and Brooklyn). She takes him again to great waters and rivers as a sailor. Then in the last 160 pages she singles out those who have led in the cultural life, not of Norwegians but Americans. This honor roll with its great diversity of fields will be a revelation to those who have not been in

contact with the American from Norway or have heard only of the Veblens, Rølvaag, and Knute Rockne. The author, a grandchild of a Norwegian immigrant to South Dakota, has already written an interesting life of F. Melius Christiansen, the choir-master of St. Olaf's College. This volume gives her wider scope and the opportunity for impersonality in treatment, and she has measured up to her opportunity. She is a true Norwegian in that she blows no trumpets and waves no flags, but she does not give an inch when she has a claim to make or an opinion to express. Well, perhaps she does let you infer what she thinks of church control of schools and pastoral mid-nineteenth century litigiousness about the Augsburg Confession. G.S.F.

ALBERT GALLATIN AND THE OREGON PROBLEM: A STUDY IN ANGLO-AMERICAN DIPLOMACY. By *Frederick Merk*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, XXIII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. xi, 97, \$2.50.) To a series of illuminating articles on the Oregon boundary controversy Frederick Merk now adds this small but meaty volume treating exhaustively one episode in that story—the negotiations of 1826–27, which terminated in the renewal of the joint occupation agreement. This is a fresh account of how Albert Gallatin, the “peacemaker,” caught between the American intransigence of John Quincy Adams and the British intransigence of George Canning, worked out an agreement which settled nothing permanently but which relieved Anglo-American tensions, educated each party to the dispute in the claims and attitudes of the other, and thus helped to prevent provocative acts that might have led to armed conflict. The book, however, is much more than a mere narrative of this one negotiation. It delves deep into the motives on both sides and incidentally throws new light upon the noncolonization principle of the Monroe Doctrine. Both parties attached importance to the Oregon country for its future more than for its immediate value. Canning, while defending the existing interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, argued to his chief, Lord Liverpool, that Oregon north of the Columbia must be held because of its future importance in the trade with China. The same argument for control of the Columbia River was used on the American side, notably by Senator Benton; but it is Professor Merk's well-documented contention that the principal American motive was what he calls the “containment” of Great Britain and of Europe in general, on political and ideological grounds, in an area which Americans regarded as their own sphere of influence, but which few, at that time, expected to become a permanent part of the United States. This “containment” policy had been put forth in its extreme form by John Quincy Adams in the noncolonization dogma of 1823. This statement, Professor Merk suggests, had been called forth by the exigencies of Adams' political battle against his rivals for the presidency and was directed more against England than against Russia. Within three years the United States was retreating from the untenable ground thus occupied. The volume exhibits the author's customary painstaking research and clarity of presentation. It is a worthy contribution to the historiography of Anglo-American diplomacy.

JULIUS W. PRATT, *University of Buffalo*

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE DOLLAR: FIRST ERA, 1919–1932. By *Herbert Feis*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1950, pp. vii, 81, \$2.25.) These four essays, originally presented as lectures at the Johns Hopkins University, constitute a very rapid summary of the diplomatic roles played by the American dollar since 1919. Instead of using his limited time to give an exhaustive account of any one phase, the speaker “sought to convey, interpret and reflect upon the whole of a large experience” (p. v). Compressed into less than seventy-seven pages of text is a review (first) of govern-

ment intervention in private dollar investments abroad and (second) of capital investment abroad by the government of the United States itself. The ideas, interests, and attitudes which developed into government policies are analyzed, followed by short accounts of major attempts to apply those policies. Particular reference is had to experiences in Central and South America, Japan, Germany, Russia, and Mosul. These topics are followed, fortunately (although the full title of the book would not lead one to expect more) by a few pages of acute observation on the diplomacy of the dollar since 1945. There are a few scattering note references, chiefly to the *Foreign Relations of the United States*, and a brief index. Written so that "he who runs may read" the book should inform such sprinters and educate them on the pressing need for persistence, patience, and perception in continuing dollar aid to other peoples. The writer matches warning with wisdom. The treatment is temperate—something of an achievement for anyone who has known twelve hectic years (1931–1943) as adviser on international economic affairs in the Department of State. Whether or not one agrees with every aspect of this author's presentation, as a whole it commands respect and admiration. Past failures and successes, present difficulties and future risks, are summarized frankly and challengingly; this is particularly important since most Americans find it very hard to take a realistic attitude toward diplomacy. They look at it, usually, through the spectacles of emotional partisanship, which badly blur the outlines of the essentials for success.

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS, *Swarthmore, Pennsylvania*

THE AMERICAN CIGARETTE INDUSTRY: A STUDY IN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS AND PUBLIC POLICY. By *Richard B. Tennant*, Assistant Professor of Economics, Yale University. [Yale Studies in Economics, Volume I.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, pp. xxvi, 411, \$5.00.) This book gives both history and analysis. The last derives from the author's service in the economic data analysis branch of the Office of Price Administration. The statistical tests and demonstrations of cost, price, elasticity of demand, etc., seem to me of doubtful value in an industry where profit margins have generally been more than twice the average for manufacturing and where calculation has been less on the basis of economic curves than of public credulity. The demand curve of oligopoly may be "kinked" (the word simply means sharply bent) but of more consequence is the fact, heaven help us, that the tobacco is toasted or that the user of a brand would allegedly walk a mile to get it. The text is as clear to the reader as the formulas are cloudy. The three chief companies in 1949 accounted for 78 per cent of the national output, the six largest produced 98 per cent of the total, leaving 2 per cent of the market to thirty-five inconsequential rivals. This concentration has been stable over years. Costs of production vary little with scale of manufacture, wholesale and retail prices of leading brands are identical, and the former have seldom been changed. Reliable experiment has shown that the popular brands may scarcely be distinguished by the unblindfolded smoker if he does not see the name. Competition is in advertising, in recent years costing about fifty million dollars annually, though much of it is merely combative to a draw. "The unpredictable nature of the results from any particular advertising campaign permits any one of the Big Three to gain or lose and has resulted in frequent shifts in relative position." However, "advertising gives the large firm an advantage over the small, and the organization of the cigarette industry in a few firms is at least partly due to this factor. Although sales are not a simple function of expenditure, still large sales and large expenditures accompany each other. Large-scale advertising appears to be a necessary, if not a sufficient, condition of brand growth." The Supreme

Court in 1946 decided that the three leading cigarette manufacturers, one subsidiary, and thirteen officers were guilty of criminal violation of the Sherman Act. Professor Tennant doubts whether in fact there was collusion and seems certain that the significant features of the industry must be the same with or without collusion. He reviews the catalogue of reform proposals, discounts or dismisses most of them, but concludes that "The rate of profit is excessive and a considerable proportion of the resources devoted to competitive advertising does not serve any justifiable economic purpose. Public policy could reasonably work to reduce the profit rates and advertising outlays." This Volume I in "Yale Studies in Economics" gives the series a commendable beginning. From the standpoint of technical economic scrutiny and statement the book is good; the author seems less sensitive, as a social observer, to the capers cut by the industry.

BROADUS MITCHELL, *Rutgers University*

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE ROPEMAKERS OF PLYMOUTH: A HISTORY OF THE PLYMOUTH CORDAGE COMPANY, 1824-1949. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1950, pp. vi, 177, \$3.00.) In 1949 the Plymouth Cordage Company celebrated its one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary. This flavorsome chronicle describes its growth from a concern with a capital of \$20,000 to the largest ropemaker in the country. There has been a continued simplicity about its history. It has never had bonds or preferred stock, nor been captained by a financial wizard; its operations, though now accomplished by machines rather than on the old rope-walk, still require skill and dexterity; and historic New England names occur again and again among the officers and directors. But the company has also experienced change. New fibers have formed its product. While the great market for ropes—shipbuilding and operation—relatively declined, others like grain binders, lariats, and twine have developed. Indeed one of the specialties of the concern was "Yacht Lariat." Through the works have poured in succession the racial streams of Yankees, Irish, Germans, Italians, and Portuguese. And for all, inspired by much the same sense of personal obligation that created the fabulous Lowell system, the cordage works has provided such welfare as the times and the needs of the workers seemed to dictate. The book closes with an appendix on knot-tying, perhaps a little tough going except for an Eagle Scout. Mr. Morison good-humoredly transfers some of his complexities to the "economists."

Members of that guild, accustomed to treating business history in terms of "executive innovation" or "entrepreneurial decision," may regard this work with dismay or condescension. They had better take a second look. It is all here without the graphs and the lingo. Furthermore it is as interesting as a love letter. Perhaps it is a love letter from a sailor historian to a concern that has furnished the ropes and rigging for his sailing craft.

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND, *Bowdoin College*

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE: APOSTLE OF GERMAN CULTURE TO AMERICA.

By *John Wesley Thomas*. (Boston, John W. Luce, 1949, pp. 168, \$2.75.) John Wesley Thomas in this account of the Unitarian clergyman supplies a certain amount of data for an understanding of the links between American transcendentalism and German culture. Family papers, which had not been examined by scholars since 1889, furnish the bulk of the material for this essentially factual study. Unpublished portions of Clarke's diary and generous excerpts from his correspondence with Margaret Fuller reveal the enthusiasm with which young New Englanders in the 1830's welcomed the interpretations of Kant and Goethe in Coleridge and Carlyle and the eagerness with which they undertook the study of the German language. The facts presented by Thomas suggest that Clarke's German studies contributed nothing to the ideas which Emerson was developing in 1832 when the two met and which Emerson later announced in *Nature*, the "ground plan" of American transcendentalism. It appears also that Clarke's interest in German writing was at this time chiefly literary, as shown by his skillful translations of lyric poetry and the reflections of Lessing in unpublished critical studies, and later theological, as shown by his championship of Schliermacher. It is probable that Clarke's mildly transcendental sermons delivered from his Unitarian pulpit in Louisville between 1833 and 1840 and his articles on German literature and theology published in the *Western Messenger*, of which he was an editor, helped to create an atmosphere favorable to the work of major American romantics. The book concludes with an account of Clarke's last years when, long after transcendentalism had ceased to be a living force, he continued to publish translations and critical articles which broadened American knowledge of Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Richter, Jacobi, Schliermacher, DeWette, and other Germans. No over-all evaluation of Clarke's contribution to American culture is attempted.

MARY C. TURPIE, *University of Minnesota*

THE PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH. By *Fredric Klees*. (New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. ix, 451, \$5.00.) If you want to see, taste, hear, and feel the riches of the Pennsylvania Dutch country, read this book. But do not expect to find a historical treatise. It is a savory book, hearty and healthy, full, not of theories ("I tend to shy away from symbolism," writes the author), but of the tangible, visible, edible good things of life: Christmas sand tarts and the Christmas *Putz*, Conestoga wagons with bells on them (to pay for getting pulled out of mudholes), "witch" signs that have nothing to do with witches, bull bands, *Distelfinks*, *der Eagle Drug Store*, Moravian buns, shoofly pie, dandelion salad, the Easter rabbit that lays eggs, the Womelsdorf fox hunt, the Amish girl who married a youth of the Reformed Church and "went gay." You will find here good things of another kind, too. There are really understanding chapters on the "Plain People" (Mennonites, Amish, Schwenkfelders, etc.), the "Church People" (Lutherans, Reformed, Evangelical United Brethren), and the Moravians, whose contributions to American life are a recurrent theme. Above all, it is a book of remembrance. Names of countless things past or passing ring across the pages in a nostalgic dirge. *Morituri salutamus*. The reader is made constantly aware that Dutch ways are changing. This general merging with the broader stream of American life

is not deprecated by the author, though regret is expressed for individual old things disappearing. He avoids the querulousness that disfigures some books by, and about, Pennsylvania Dutchmen. *Dutch* he insists upon, *Pennsylvania Dutch* connoting, as *Pennsylvania German* does not, the blend of German, Swiss, and French Huguenot strains that have gone into the making of this people—to say nothing of the “English Quaker, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, Negro, gypsy, or Holland Dutch, Swede, or Finn” among them who are as “Dutch in heart” as any “Stolzfus, Spang or Moyer.” The author has gleaned lightly from an immense territory, handling all manner of topics, past and present, from religion and *Hexerei* to *fraktur* and kitchen recipes. By and large, it is the best introduction for the general reader to this whole field. Others have written more fully and profoundly about individual parts of it, such as Pennsylvania Dutch education, art, antiques, literature, and folklore. But no one else has sung so well the all-round Pennsylvania Dutchman. It is evident that *The Pennsylvania Dutch* was not intended by the author as a work of reference. Nevertheless it is full of things the reader would like to turn back to. Unhappily there is no index.

PAUL A. W. WALLACE, *Annaville, Pennsylvania*

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## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

SEAT OF EMPIRE: THE POLITICAL ROLE OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WILLIAMSBURG. By *Carl Bridenbaugh*. [Williamsburg in America Series, No. 1.] (Williamsburg, Va., Colonial Williamsburg, 1950, pp. ix, 85, \$1.75.) An almost incredible amount of research has gone into the seventy-eight textual pages of this book, but that fact is concealed by the agreeable absence of footnotes and the flowing narrative. One may easily believe that the average historical writer, after doing so much in preparation, would have produced a volume five times as long and one fifth as good. A single two-page note on sources, with suggestions for further reading, furnishes a hint of the preparatory labors and an avenue to down-to-earth knowledge of colonial and revolutionary Virginia, with an overflow beyond its boundaries. Journeying with Mr. Bridenbaugh, the reader reaches Williamsburg as a traveler does—a traveler who goes on many roads and moves at the same time down through the years. He sees the rich and poor, free and slave, of tidewater Virginia, absorbed in producing "that chopping herbe of hell, tobacco." He discovers the patriarchal society of the low country, operating through church vestries and courts—and sees the colonial capital as it was before the Piedmont and mountain counties became an unruly element in the "tobacco planters' club," the House of Burgesses. Avoiding superficial emphasis upon the conventional great of Virginia—Washington, Jefferson,



Henry—the author presents the leaders as they were seen in 1765, when John Robinson bossed the burgesses and conservative Richard Bland seemed an iconoclast in comparison. With this approach, the description of Williamsburg itself acquires a realism consistent with, but far more basic than, that which is found in even the most vivid of eighteenth century books of travel.

IRVING BRANT, *Washington, D. C.*

IMPRESSIONS OF MEN AND MOVEMENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA. By *Henry McGilbert Wagstaff*, Professor of History, 1907–45. Edited with a Prefatory Note by *Louis R. Wilson*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1950, pp. ix, 110, \$2.00.) The chief merit of this book resides, not in the sweetness of its temper and its kindly appreciation of earlier and later officers and professors at the University of North Carolina, but in the soundness of its history. Dr. Wagstaff as a historian knew that universities and colleges, however much they may think of themselves as creators, are in point of fact closely limited by the society and the economy of the regions that support them. Dr. Wagstaff does not pretend that the University of North Carolina was ever able to lift itself by its bootstraps or that such a thing is ever possible. All that he claims is that the teachers and administrators of the university were in general men of excellent quality and that they did extremely well in the hard circumstances in which they were usually placed. A reader might be misled by the gracious and enthusiastic praise the author showers on the pioneers and, particularly, on the men of whom he had intimate knowledge, those who were in control during the presidencies of K. P. Battle, George T. Winston, E. A. Alderman, and F. P. Venable—1876 to 1914. Perhaps the most interesting of the periods treated is that from about 1885 until about 1905. During this time and throughout its history one finds the University of North Carolina reflecting clearly the trends of American higher education. By 1885, after a desperate battle with the leaders of certain denominational colleges of the state, the University of North Carolina had succeeded in getting established the principle of state support for higher education. This contest was at the same time being actively carried on in California and in other parts of the union. In 1887, like some other state universities, the University of North Carolina lost, through the machinations of politicians and through no fault of its own, the advantage of having the college of agriculture and engineering located on the same campus with the university. In 1891 in response to the movement for the higher education of women the Woman's College at Greensboro was founded, and at about that time the university showed in the improvement of its faculty, library, and laboratories a reanimation of higher education in apparent response to German research scholarship and the founding of the Johns Hopkins University. It was the period of the founding of the University of Chicago and of Stanford University. For the progress of those days, particularly in the last administration treated, that of Dr. Venable, the author claims much and is no doubt justified in his claims, but it is nevertheless a pity that the book ends where it does; for, if one may be permitted to say so, the national importance of the University of North Carolina probably began with the administration of Edward Kidder Graham and went on under his successors.

HARDIN CRAIG, *University of Missouri*

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE: THE LIFE OF DR. PETER FAYSSOUX OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA. By *Chalmers G. Davidson*. (Columbia, Medical Association of South Carolina, 1950, pp. vii, 151, \$2.75.) In this latest historical study Professor Davidson has handled a difficult study with proficiency and has made a definite contribution to our knowledge of certain aspects of the history of Revolutionary South Carolina and its society. Overshadowed in the political realm

by a veritable host of celebrities such as the Pinckneys and the Rutledges and others of the old aristocracy on the one hand and by David Ramsay in the medical arena as well as on the political scene on the other, Dr. Peter Fayssoux, "Friend of the People," has remained in comparative obscurity. In his attempt to restore this pioneer medical leader of South Carolina to his proper place of importance Dr. Davidson has encountered real difficulty but has met it with success. The reviewer could not escape the impression that the character of Peter Fayssoux in itself constituted a real difficulty in achieving that success which the Medical Society of South Carolina had in mind when it sponsored the publication of this volume. It is quite evident also that there is a dearth of pertinent source material which would have aided greatly in the attempt to make Fayssoux "come alive." For this reason the author on more than one occasion was forced to the use of conjecture in reconstructing certain aspects of his life. Fayssoux does not seem to have engaged in the endless correspondence, both professional and political, which contributed so much to the present pre-eminence of David Ramsay, his great contemporary. What material was available has been well used, but much of it deals only indirectly with Peter Fayssoux and only occasionally did the reviewer feel that he was meeting the real person. This paucity of material does not obscure certain important facts concerning his medical career and his importance in the early development of medicine in South Carolina. As chief physician to the Southern Hospital during the Revolution he performed an invaluable service for which he has received all too little credit. While there may be some question as to whether he was actually the "Father of Medicine" in South Carolina, there is no doubt that as one of the organizers and first president of the Medical Society of South Carolina Fayssoux played an important role in the promotion of medical studies. It is to be regretted that the author in his discussion of the role which Peter Fayssoux played in the contest over the ratification of the federal Constitution by South Carolina leaned too heavily on Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (pp. 87-88). The absence of an index is not too serious an error in such a brief study.

C. GREGG SINGER, *Salem College*

#### NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE BROWARD: FLORIDA'S FIGHTING DEMOCRAT.

By *Samuel Proctor*. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1950, pp. x, 400, \$5.00.) Mr. Proctor has produced a biography which needed writing and he has written well. In fact, the parts of this study which depict scenes of nature are done with real literary skill. In some of the finer points of biographical portrayal, however, this book has its limitations. For example, in a treatise about a person for whom an era is named, this reviewer questions the writer's decision to devote more than two thirds of the narrative to developing the background. In *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward* the discussion of the Broward Era begins with chapter xiv (p. 216). The book ends with chapter xvii (p. 310). Almost as much space is allotted to Broward's political activities in Jacksonville and Duval County and to his contributions in the war of Cuban independence as is devoted to the subject's progressive gubernatorial administration. While it can be admitted that these two periods in Broward's earlier life are done well and that extensive discussions of executive-legislative relations might have slowed up the narrative, the biographer owes it to the character for whom the Broward Era was named to discuss more fully his significant administration. A few minor mistakes were noted; for example, the middle name of John Sharp Williams is misspelled (p. 262, 266), and Governor Edmond F. Noel is referred to as *Hoy* Noel (p. 288). The book has an attractive format, ample illustrations, and an accurate index. Ninety of the volume's four hundred pages are devoted to footnotes, bibliography, and index.

It is to be hoped that the University of Florida Press will publish more biographies of southern statesmen, industrial leaders, and other figures of historical significance.

GEORGE C. OSBORN, *University of Florida*

FLORIDA'S GOLDEN SANDS. By *Alfred Jackson Hanna* and *Kathryn Abbey Hanna*. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1950, pp. 429, \$4.00.) *Florida's Golden Sands* is not strictly a piece of historical research, though undoubtedly the emphasis falls on the historical aspect; it is not a book of travel, though few readers who had never visited Florida could fail to wish immediately to turn southward; it is definitely not a book of memoirs, though it records bits of memories from old residents. Altogether it is a delightful volume, compounded of all three types and written in a charming style. It is pleasing to find Professor and Mrs. Hanna again collaborating in a study of their state. They contrive to make the reader feel that they are writing of a land they love and so he shares something of the emotion, however vivid his memories of temperatures which made him wish himself back north. Primarily, the volume is based on research. The many sources indicated in a bibliographical note and in the footnotes—both arranged by chapters—cover a wide range of manuscripts, newspapers, and printed material. Chapter headings reveal the scope of the subject, which, incidentally, is confined to Florida's eastern coast. "Sniping at the Spaniards," "The Seagoing Railroad," and "Yo-Ho-Ho and a Boatload of Rum," are a few of the striking titles. The pages cover Florida's known history through World War II. One chapter (chap. viii) furnishes details on the Seminole War in greater fullness than usual; the chapter on wrecks and wrecking (chap. vi) deals with a subject to which serious historians have given scant attention. Many personalities of all historical periods come alive in these pages, from the shadowy figures of Ponce de León and Chief Saturiba to the British blockade-runner Hobart-Hampdon of Confederate days. The authors enlarged the reviewer's acquaintance with pirates by several new figures. There are also many romantic personages of comparatively recent decades of the frontier type, like Colonel Henry Titus (chap. xii), and promoters, like H. M. Flagler, Carl Fish, and George E. Merrick (chap. xxiii). For the reader who finds glamour in titles, they are also provided in Prince Murat and the duke and duchess of Gastelluccio—a title of questionable legitimacy. The volume as a piece of bookmaking reflects credit on the publishers. Pen and ink sketches, suitably selected to illuminate the subject matter, appear at the head of each chapter. Five black and white maps are included, in addition to end-paper maps of the entire peninsula. The reviewer believes that the authors must have intended to name Hobart-Hampdon's vessel the *Don* (p. 150) instead of the *Dawn* (see Captain Roberts, *Never Caught* [London, 1908], p. 10). She is inclined to challenge inclusion of one chapter on the ground of relevancy. "The Western Indians at Fort Augustine" (chap. xiii) seems more an interesting episode than an integral part of the development of eastern Florida history.

ELLA LONN, *Baltimore, Maryland*

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#### WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

ARCHITECTURE OF THE OLD NORTHWEST TERRITORY: A STUDY OF EARLY ARCHITECTURE IN OHIO, INDIANA, ILLINOIS, MICHIGAN, WISCONSIN, AND PART OF MINNESOTA. By *Rexford Newcomb*, Fellow of the American Institute of Architects. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950, pp. xvii, 176, plates, \$20.00.) "The Architecture of America's Heartland" might easily have been the subtitle of this distinguished and important study. For indeed, though the author is careful not to pursue the point too strongly, "here one reckons with beginnings—the clearing of the land, the literal hewing of homes from the primeval forest. Once a sustenance is wrung from the soil and warming cultural winds blow across the pioneer settlements, the accumulated wisdom of building in the older parts of the nation is reflected in the second-generation structures that dot the countryside." Based on a sound descriptive analysis of the important monuments, the author portrays an impressive panorama, from the early Indian mounds through the French colonial, Southern, and Yankee traditions as they became fixed in definite buildings in the various regions and gradually absorbed into a richly varied yet unified Classic Revival. The central significance of the classic manner taking root in the Midwest and giving promise of a unified "American" style had the development not been interrupted by the Civil War, is emphasized in its proper perspective. For it is here, in contrast to



the style as we know it on the eastern seaboard, that the various racial and nationality differences, regional variations due to climate and available material, and the variety of social and economic functions which the architecture served, were brought together into what Dean Newcomb called the "abiding continuum" of a genuine and indigenous style. But the author does not stress theories or conclusions. Rather he has presented the material for us to speculate for ourselves. Rich sources of material are brought together from local, state, and county histories, the all-important Historic American Building Survey, the remarkable photographic files of Hedrich-Blessing, unpublished photographs, and material from many a specialist in this field like Talmadge, Reed, Frary, and Roos, as well as his own original investigations. The superb photographs and excellent design of the book make it an attractive addition to any library as well as a must for every serious student of American cultural development. Its publication in this auspicious form is a fitting tribute to the long and equally distinguished career of its author.

LAURENCE SCHMECKEBIER, *Cleveland Institute of Art*

AGRICULTURAL LITERATURE AND THE EARLY ILLINOIS FARMER. By Richard Bardolph. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXIX, Nos. 1 and 2.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1948, pp. 200, \$2.00.) It goes without saying that agricultural literature has had a profound influence on the transformation of farming from a primitive and largely self-sufficing occupation into a business enterprise organized on a scientific, capitalistic, and commercial basis. Any description and appraisal of this influence is, however, a difficult problem, in view not only of the vast amount of literature that is to be explored but also of other important influences that command consideration. But little has thus far been done in appraising the influence of agricultural literature other than the claims set forth by the editors of agricultural periodicals. A significant beginning has been made by Demaree, *The Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (1941) while Bardolph has essayed the task for Illinois in the period before 1870 which may be said to be typical of the United States as a whole. Bardolph treats the following aspects of the problem: (1) the works of the leading nineteenth century agricultural reformers and the futile efforts of agricultural societies and the editors of agricultural periodicals to induce any considerable number of farmers to read books on agriculture; (2) the newspapers which were devoted largely to politics but contributed in a number of ways to the improvement of farming and related matters, while catalogues, pamphlets, and posters distributed among the farmers by the manufacturers and merchants of farm implements and machines kept the rural community informed of technical progress in the mechanization of farming; (3) the transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural Society and of the Illinois State Horticultural Society which contained useful reports, essays, and treatises on a wide variety of subjects relating to agriculture and horticulture, including entomology; and (4) agricultural periodicals to which approximately half of this study is devoted with particular emphasis on their contents and programs and their influence on farming practices and on rural social development. The author reaches the obvious conclusion that "farm journals were the most influential of the several agencies for the instruction of farmers in the half century before 1870. The very regularity of their visits every week or every month into a farmer's home gave them advantages far above those of state and local societies and fairs. The range of subjects they discussed, their democratic flavor, the close communion between editors and readers, the sense of class solidarity and pride which they inspired, and the high purpose of the agricultural leaders and plain farmers who wrote for them invested the journals with a capacity for catching

the farmer's ear, where books and sober treatises failed." This is a noteworthy contribution to the history of American agriculture. It is based on a wide use of original sources and secondary materials. The text is well organized and fortified with voluminous and informative footnotes. A list of agricultural journals published in Illinois to 1870 is appended. Another list gives the names and specialties of prominent horticultural writers in this period. A classified bibliography and useful index are provided.

LOUIS BERNARD SCHMIDT, *Iowa State College*

GRASS OF THE EARTH: IMMIGRANT LIFE IN THE DAKOTA COUNTRY.

By *Aagot Raaen*. [Publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association.] (Northfield, Minn., the Association, 1950, pp. xii, 238, \$3.00.) To the long list of publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, its skillful editor, Theodore C. Blegen, has added what he terms an "unpretentious tale," a volume of reminiscences of pioneer immigrant life in northern Dakota in the eighties and nineties of the last century. Actually, these are no ordinary reminiscences, for they are carefully based on diaries and letters and are written by a scholarly and sensitive woman. The book is therefore a valuable contribution to American social history. The volume has dramatic qualities. The principal parts are taken by a disillusioned Norwegian intellectual trying to make a go of farming in northern Dakota, his courageous and persevering wife, and their four children, of whom the author is the eldest. Opening with a three-day blizzard, the tale proceeds to impressions of prairie life, animals and crops, household handicrafts, discussions by the well-educated father, stories of the affectionate mother, the problem of water, primitive medicine, Norwegian foods, home building, the farming seasons, the coming of neighbors, the first school, new farm machinery, the long years of a burdensome mortgage, the shift from pioneer mutual helpfulness to commercial rivalry and cunning, and the failure of those, such as the father of this family, whose training ill fitted them for the rigors of frontier farming. An exciting chapter describes the revolt of the wives of the Norwegian farmers against the liquor traffic and their destructive raid, encouraged by their clergyman, on the saloons of the nearby village. The older children went out to work to help with the family finances. Aagot made her way through normal school to teaching, with interludes of helping out on the farm. There are moving accounts of tragic catastrophes alongside descriptions of joyous holiday seasons. The ultimate liquidation of the mortgage and the death of a beloved sister conclude the volume. The keynote is one of family solidarity and sacrifice in the struggle of Norwegian immigrants to make a new home on the Dakota prairies.

CARLTON C. QAULEY, *Carleton College*

XÁNTUS: HUNGARIAN NATURALIST IN THE PIONEER WEST. By *Henry Miller Madden*. (Burlingame, Calif., William P. Wreden, 1949, pp. 312, \$6.00.) Dr. Madden's work is one of the best to appear on the history of American science in the last dozen years. It is a circumstantial and critical account of a Hungarian naturalist who became perhaps our most noteworthy natural-history collector. In some ways, Madden's biography is a typification of the Continental naturalist who came to America after the European commotions of 1848-49. Some of these immigrant naturalists came as settlers, others as travelers; some fitted into the American scene, and others (more frequently) did not. All of them collected *naturalia*, corresponded with foreign scientists, and through their work made known the natural history of new areas. Some returned to their homelands, after a general amnesty had been proclaimed; but most of them remained in America. After a few years here many of them sank into

obscurity, when their pioneer labors had revealed the outstanding features of the natural history of their regions, and had exhausted their novelty. János Xántus worked as a naturalist in North America from 1856 to 1864. His earliest collections were made around Fort Riley, Kansas, while he was an enlisted man in the American Army. In 1857 he was transferred to Fort Tejon in southern California; here he collected for the Smithsonian Institution twenty-four boxes of natural-history specimens. Early in 1859, Xántus was transferred to Cape San Lucas at the southern extremity of Lower California, to serve there in the dual capacity of natural-history collector for the Smithsonian Institution and tide-observer for the United States Coast Survey. At both Fort Tejon and Cape San Lucas he collected so effectively (in spite of difficulties at times almost insuperable) that these places have become classic, as type-localities for some hundreds of new species of plants and for all groups of animals. Xántus sent from Cape San Lucas to the Smithsonian Institution some sixty boxes of *naturalia*, which "embraced, and almost exhausted, every department of natural history, the specimens prepared and packed in a perfect manner, accompanied by copious notes, measurements, and biographies." Later, at Manzanillo and Colima, on the Pacific coast of Mexico, he continued his collections, and sent forty-three boxes to the Smithsonian Institution. Part of this time he was United States consul at Manzanillo. In 1864 he returned to Hungary, and died, much honored, thirty years later in Budapest, after a decade of mental decline. But Xántus has gained another reputation, unique among naturalists, as a superlative Munchausen. Even in his reports to Baird of the Smithsonian—full, graphic, vivacious, reminding one of the diary of Samuel Pepys in their enthusiasm, passion, curiosity, and eagerness—he included statements that had no foundation in fact. One is impressed with the almost paranoic romancing typical of Xántus' letters to family, friends, and newspapers in Hungary. In Dr. Madden's annotated account of the writings of Xántus (chap. viii), one is struck again and again by Xántus' lurid inventions, brazen plagiarisms, fraudulent inventions, and sheer fabrications. Even in Madden's sympathetic accounts one repeatedly finds such characterizations as "appalling lies," "species that had no existence," "imagined and fictitious visits," "pure fabrications." His published books, especially the *Utazás*, were full of fabrications as well as plagiarisms—the *Utazás*, for example, has whole sections lifted bodily from the published reports of Letterman, Emory, and Abert. Even the maps and plates were plagiarized. But in spite of all this, Madden has written fully, sympathetically, without extenuation and without malice, qualities perhaps best shown in the following characterization of the naturalist: "Life in America had shown many of its facets to Xántus, and had pushed him to an eminence beyond the hope of the average immigrant of the eighteen-fifties. It had . . . sharpened his appreciation of the shady practices by which careers could be advanced in a mid-nineteenth-century America. There was in him a touch of his contemporaries Phineas Barnum and William Walker, of the charlatan and the braggart. Yet transcending Xántus's faults and failings was a winsomeness which took the edge off his roguery; his friends were won by his amiability, and his critics by his ingratiation. In his strength, as in his shortcomings, he represented both his age and his class of European immigrant." This excellent work is marked by solid investigation and thorough scholarship. The appended bibliography shows how extensive was the investigation of manuscript materials in American and Hungarian libraries. It is a rare thing to see a book so well written as history and so useful in science. Madden's book is a genuine contribution to the history of American scientific exploration.

S. W. GEISER, *Southern Methodist University*

CULTURE IN CRISIS: A STUDY OF THE HOPI INDIANS. By *Laura Thompson*.

Foreword by *John Collier*. A Chapter from the Writings of *Benjamin Lee Whorf*. (New York, Harper, 1950, pp. xxix, 221, \$4.00.) Increasingly of recent years anthropology, "the science of man," has made itself the central element in a synthesis of disciplines looking to a study not merely of "culture" or "society" but of human groups as a whole, in the full context of their environment, culture, and inner selves. Dr. Thompson's book is a summation of an ambitious study along these lines, by many specialists in co-operation, of the Hopis of Arizona. It is a notable success. At one point, briefly, presentation is weakened by a cloudy passage on theory, postulates, and hypotheses more impressive to the ear than to the mind. Inadequate attention was paid to the central core of the Hopis on Second Mesa. Astonishingly, the study ignores the important influence at First Mesa of the Tewa-speaking colony there. These omissions are important, but not enough so to invalidate major findings, though they will require qualifications. Archaeology, history, ecology, linguistics, psychology, medicine, and somatology are joined with the more usual considerations to produce the most penetrating study of the Hopis yet produced, and one likely to stand long as definitive. The inclusion of a summary of Whorf's writings on the Hopi language is a boon to students in itself as well as a valuable element in the synthesis. One must take exception to a minor finding—that the replacement of wild game by domestic flocks has resulted in a reduction in the meat diet. The presentation has a wholeness and integration which seem to reflect the author's sense of the wholeness and integration of Hopi life and thought. *Culture in Crisis* is not only a fine study of a specific subject, but a methodological classic.

OLIVER LA FARGE, *Santa Fe, New Mexico*

## OVERLAND TO CALIFORNIA ON THE SOUTHWESTERN TRAIL, 1849: DIARY

OF ROBERT ECCLESTON. Edited by *George P. Hammond* and *Edward H. Howes*. [Bancroft Library Publications, Number two.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950, pp. xvii, 256, \$7.50.) In editing and publishing this journal, written by a gold-seeker of 1849, Dr. Hammond and Mr. Howes conferred benefits upon every student of the history of southwestern emigrant trails. It may be that the editors did not, in the first instance, intend anything so comprehensive; for the book—a handsome volume with two useful and unusual maps—made its appearance as the annual publication distributed to the members of the Friends of the Bancroft Library and was intended for a small, appreciative group of readers. But any newly available source of information concerning a historic trail is exciting news to students of that particular branch of history; and the unique data set down each day by Robert Eccleston and now published a hundred years later will no doubt be read and evaluated, sooner or later, by all those most interested. The journal is a day-by-day description of a nine months' journey from New York, by way of Port Lavaca in Texas, to a point near Los Angeles. Part of the time was spent tediously at the heels of a battalion of troops sent by the United States government to open a practicable emigrant road, and Eccleston's party traveled, and sometimes helped to build, two important trail sectors: the lower road from San Antonio to El Paso and a short cut from the Burro Mountains in New Mexico to Tucson. Especially good are the young author's pen pictures of Mexican settlements where, at different times, the party camped, and his vivid and amusing commentaries on the various Indian tribes encountered. The improvement of this southwest trail facilitating wagon emigration to the Pacific Coast was of great moment to the entire nation; and, roughly speaking, Eccleston's route was adopted before many years by the Butterfield Overland Mail Stages and, later, by the railroad. His diary describing the beginning of portions of the road is a priceless addition to our meager sources of information.

IRENE D. PADEN, *Alameda, California*

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## Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham<sup>1</sup>

### GENERAL

**SOCIAL SCIENCE TRENDS IN LATIN AMERICA.** By *Harold E. Davis*, Director of Inter-American Studies and Chairman of the Division of Social Studies at American University. (Washington, American University Press, 1950, pp. 136, \$2.50.) Issued in co-operation with the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, *Social Trends in Latin America* is a useful addition to the available meager supply of research tools in the field of Latin-American studies. In the first chapter, the author gives a brief survey of the growth and change in Latin-American social studies, and he stresses the remarkable development of the newer disciplines, such as anthropology, economics, and political science; the latter increasingly do away with the monopoly which history has held over a long period of time, particularly in the nineteenth century. In history, too, the author notes, there is a healthy shift to social and economic institutions, similar to the emergence of new emphases in historical studies in other countries. The second chapter deals with the characteristics of Latin-American social thought, and the author stresses in particular the struggle between positivism on the one hand and neo-Thomism, Hegelianism, and nationalism on the other. North American and English influences have been less noticeable, with the exception of John Dewey, whose educational philosophy has had considerable impact. Chapters III-XI survey each of the social sciences in the major Latin-American republics. The quality of the surveys varies from chapter to chapter, but on the whole the author has succeeded in compiling data which are not easily available elsewhere. Since the book is only 136 pages long, it would have been impossible to do more than compile and put together the most basic bibliographical data. Within the limitations of space he had to contend with, the author has rendered a useful service to students of Latin America in nearly all the social sciences. It is to be hoped that Mr. Davis' pioneering introduction will provide the impetus for a detailed analysis of the social sciences in Latin America. The problem of the development of more mature methods of research and analysis is more than a purely scientific one, and has distinct social and political implications of a world-wide character. Having recently worked in this field with UNESCO, the reviewer is more firmly convinced than ever of the urgency of the whole situation, and it is to be hoped that the concept of a technological Point Four program will be supplemented by a similar program in the social sciences, in co-operation with UNESCO and other interested international bodies.

WILLIAM EBENSTEIN, *Princeton University*

### THE ENCOMIENDA IN NEW SPAIN: THE BEGINNING OF SPANISH MEXICO.

By *Lesley Byrd Simpson*. (Rev. ed., Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950, pp. xv, 257, \$3.75.) I consider this second edition of Simpson's work justified; twenty years ago it contributed to the undertaking of studies on the *encomienda*, a Spanish institution in the Indies which is little known but very often mentioned. Since then, documentary research has progressed, as well as the clear understanding of the elements of the ideological, legal, and social problems of the Spanish-American sixteenth century. In both aspects, Simpson's work shows full maturity, its fine prologue deserving special mention. The bibliography does not give the impression of being

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.



exhaustive. Some omissions affect the historical value of certain paragraphs, for instance, the one dedicated to the Naboría Indians. In his opinions on the Spanish crown, Simpson does not adopt an apologetic attitude and endeavors to study the Indian policy through several reigns, giving Christian paternalism less emphasis than it usually receives while he concentrates on the fiscal reasons favoring the increase of royal revenues. He does not forget the political factor, which had a tendency toward reinforcing the absolute powers of the monarch at the expense of the feudal aspirations of the conquerors. The chapters on the Antilles are particularly negative in their outlook. From such antecedents it would seem that the only possible consequence would have been the failure of Spanish colonization. The fact that it persisted and even created certain forms of civilization in some islands (cities with churches, hospitals, schools, and palaces on one side; and plantations and cattle on the other) would seem to indicate the existence of a colonizing purpose in this hot-weather zone. As Simpson's book examines the problem only from the point of view of the extinction of the Indian population and abandons the Antillean problem as soon as the Spaniards pass on to Mexico, it may leave the reader with some impressions which, although based on true facts, may be one-sided and incomplete. The work consists of short chapters containing clear concepts on the various periods in which the development of the institution may be divided. Perhaps the first chapter on "The Indian Legislation of Isabella" would have been enriched in perspective and information had it considered the antecedents regarding the history of the Canary Islands. Simpson now gives greater attention to the second half of the sixteenth century. In chapter xi, entitled "The Tamed Encomienda," he speaks of the modifications which were introduced to improve the conditions of the Indians subjected to it. He maintains that the *encomenderos* of New Spain were of the same hard nature as those which had devastated the Antilles and scourged the continent; but they had learned through experience that it was against their interests to destroy their means of subsistence, and that there were common interests between them and their *encomendados* (p. 158). In the last chapter, on economic and demographic aspects, he presents a valuable map illustrating the distribution of *encomiendas* and towns of the crown in New Spain and New Galicia, about the year 1560 (pp. 160-61). It is closely related to another recent work by Cook and Simpson, *The Population of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1948). Simpson does not forget that the *encomiendas* persisted in the form of *pensiones* until the eighteenth century in the regions he studied, but he limits his research to the sixteenth century, in which they undoubtedly had greater social importance. The author's conciseness and the clarity of his style contribute to the merits of the book.

SILVIO ZAVALA, *Mexico, D. F.*

INSTITUCIONES DE GOBIERNO DEL NUEVO REINO DE GRANADA DURANTE EL SIGLO XVIII. By José María Ots Capdequí. (Bogota, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Sección de Extensión Cultural, 1950, pp. 379.) Dr. Ots Capdequí, who has devoted many years to the investigation of Spanish archivalia dealing with the colonial enterprise, now has turned his attention to the records of the National Archive of Colombia, relating to the legal institutions of New Granada during the eighteenth century. In this volume he considers only the Spanish political and administrative government of this region. The documents examined reveal intimate details of the Spanish administration. Dr. Ots has analyzed and abstracted royal orders, correspondence, and other documents which serve to explain many processes and aspects of the colonial endeavor. The powers and duties of the various administrative

officers are indicated. The relations of the colonial authorities and the conflicts of jurisdiction are portrayed by documentary evidence. The suspicions of the king and the royal authorities in Spain are evident, and the types of reports demanded and the decisions reached on them are set forth in relation to many concrete cases. The fullest treatment naturally is given to the viceroy, his faculties, duties and activities, with particular attention to his relations with the audiencia and to his supervisory authority over subordinate officials. The audiencia also receives full consideration and adequate treatment is given to presidents, governors, *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores*, who played lesser roles in the administration of the colony. The discussion and presentation of the material is arranged subjectively and the substance of the documents is clearly set forth, many of them in form of extensive abstracts. Exact citations of the location of the documents are given and a list of the volumes examined is included in the foreword. There is no index. Dr. Ots Capdequí has rendered a real service to scholars with this new volume, and by its publication the National University of Colombia has made a valuable contribution to Spanish colonial historiography.

ROSCOE R. HILL, *Washington, D. C.*

Important new publications are: *Review of Inter-American Bibliography* (Pan American Union, Washington), I, no. 1, Jan., 1951, a periodical which supersedes *LEA*; and *Trabajos y Comunicaciones* (Universidad Nacional de la Plata, Buenos Aires), I, no. 1, 1949.

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#### COLONIAL PERIOD

##### NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

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SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

- MIRANDA ET MADAME DE CUSTINE. By C. Parra-Pérez. (Paris, Bernard Grasset, 1950, pp. 365, 510 fr.) This is one of several works published recently because the year 1950 was the bicentenary of the birth of the Venezuelan revolutionary Francisco de Miranda. Madame Delphine de Custine met Miranda for the first time during the Terror in the prison La Force, where her husband had been incarcerated. Parra-Pérez, a Venezuelan who is the author of a volume entitled *Miranda et la Révolution française*, has used letters of Madame Custine found in the Archives Nationales as well as presumably some others found among Miranda's voluminous papers in a dossier labeled "Correspondance des femmes"—papers which

now repose in the hall of the Venezuelan Academy of History at Caracas. In the volume under review some fresh glimpses of Miranda are furnished which deal primarily with his private life. Among the persons who figured in the society which he frequented, besides Madame Delphine de Custine, were the following: General Dumouriez, the painter Lebarbier, Fouché, the minister of police, the deputy, Jean Lanjuinais, Madame Péton, the wife of the mayor of Paris, the bookseller Barrois *l'ainé*, the artist Quatremère de Quincy, and the Duchess d'Abrantès. The information about Miranda found in this book comes largely from his charming correspondent, Delphine. Early in their friendship she wrote to him thus: "*J'ai promis amitié sincère, confiance entière. . .*" In 1802, when the romance had faded, she said: "*J'espère donc que nous nous reverrons et passerons ensemble encore de ces bons moments qui, grâce à votre éloquence, ne s'effacent jamais et restent autant dans l'esprit que dans le cœur!*" It seems that Parra-Pérez did not come across any epistles of Miranda to Delphine nor did he notice any unguarded remark of the adventurer about this lady friend. Aside from the mention of such fleeting figures as Pedro Caro and Pablo de Olavide, little attention is given in these pages to Miranda's *primer amor*, the revolutionizing of Spanish America. Serious students of history will regret that the volume does not contain either a bibliography or footnotes.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON, *University of Illinois*

SAN MARTÍN, THE LIBERATOR. By J. C. J. Metford, Lecturer in the Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Glasgow. With a Foreword by Sir Eugen Millington-Drake, Chairman of the Hudson Institute and lately Chief Representative of the British Council in Spanish-speaking America. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1950, pp. xi, 154, 16s.) During the year 1950 there has been continuously and somewhat vociferously celebrated in Argentina the centenary of the death of the great national liberator, José de San Martín. Although without question reflecting the sincerity and devotion of the Argentine people, it also was made to accrue to the renown of President Perón and his wife, with whose names that of the great patriot was invariably associated. The British, whose relations both personal and commercial with Argentina have traditionally been close, have added their note to the paean of praise. This life of San Martín, published appropriately in 1950, appears under the joint auspices of the British Council, the Hudson Institute, and the Anglo-Argentine Society. Mr. Metford's brief biography is addressed to the general reading public. It is based chiefly upon the classic *Historia de San Martín* of Bartolomé Mitre, and leans heavily upon the printed reports of contemporary British observers such as Haigh, Miers, Miller, Hall, and Admiral Cochrane. Unfortunately, the author displays no great familiarity with the history and geography of South America. He refers to the leader of the first colonizing expedition to the Rio de la Plata as Pedro de Alvarado (p. 1), ascribes the penetration by Spaniards from the north and west into what now is Argentina to overcrowding on the Pacific coast and the Andean highlands (p. 2), and believes that in the eighteenth century the *criollos* controlled the "trade and commerce" of the colonies (p. 11). He refers to Spain's war against England in 1779 as "Charles IV's . . . support of the New England states" (p. 25), states that Bolívar was born in the capital of the viceroyalty of New Granada (p. 18) and died in 1831 (p. 118), and places the first German immigration into Chile in the latter part of the nineteenth century (p. 61). The city of Rosario is located at the entrance to the Parana River (p. 36), the city of Mendoza apparently on the road to Chuquisaca (p. 9), and Miraflores in Peru between Lima and its seaport Callao (p. 100). In spite of numerous other questionable statements of fact or opinion,



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was to provide a program that would appeal to many different groups and call attention to as many as possible of the fields in which significant research is in progress. There were, however, several points of focus. A number of sessions centered on American foreign policy. Several and parts of others were given over to subjects relating to the history of Russia and adjacent countries. The key question of imperialism was considered in general, and there were special sessions on significant areas long under the control of colonial powers. Many of the papers considered the impact of one government or one culture on another. Here and elsewhere an effort was made to call attention to opportunities for future research. In addition, several sessions treated specific problems of the profession: graduate training, access to research materials, publication, teaching.

## II

The annual dinner was held in the Grand Ballroom of the Stevens, on Friday, December 29. Stanley Pargellis, chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, introduced the toastmaster, Ralph Budd, chairman of the Chicago Transit Authority. Mr. Budd, long a friend of the historical profession, introduced the President of the Association, Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard University. Professor Morison's presidential address, "The Faith of a Historian," has been published in the January issue of the *American Historical Review*.

Before presenting his address, President Morison read a letter from the President of the United States. This communication is here reproduced in full:

December 22, 1950

DEAR DR. MORISON:

As the American Historical Association assembles for its sixty-fifth annual meeting, I wish to extend to its members my best wishes for another year of constructive work. I regret that I am not able to extend these greetings in person, as I had hoped to do. You are aware of the circumstances which prevent my being at your meeting.

In the critical effort which the free nations of the world are now making to preserve peace, the work of American historians is of the utmost importance. Communist countries are distorting history and spreading untruths about our achievements, our traditions, and our policies. We must keep the record clear, so that all the world may know the truth about what we have done and what we are continuing to do to build a peaceful and prosperous family of nations.

Since the Federal Government's activities are of central importance in our national defense effort, and since historians of the future will wish to probe deeply into the Government's activities, I am directing that a Federal historical program be instituted, with a primary purpose of recording the activities which the Federal Government is undertaking to meet the menace of communist aggression. Such a program will need the advice and assistance of the American Historical Association. The Government will need your help in defining the objectives of the program, obtaining qualified historians, and insuring that its work meets the high standards of the historical profession. I shall be pleased to receive the views and advice of the American Historical Association on these matters.

Communist imperialism has made falsehood a dangerous weapon; but truth can be a far more potent weapon. American historians can contribute to the cause of the free nations by helping the Government to record and interpret the policies our Nation is following to secure peace and freedom in the world.

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd) HARRY S. TRUMAN

The executive secretary of the Association, Guy Stanton Ford, announced the award of prizes. The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship was won by Reynold M. Wik of Bethel College and the University of Minnesota. Professor Wik's manuscript, "Steam Power on the American Farm: A Chapter in Agricultural History, 1850-1920," will be published in the Beveridge Series. Miles Mark Fisher's manuscript of a book on "Negro Slave Songs in the United States" was chosen by the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize went to Professor Hans W. Gatzke of the Johns Hopkins University for his volume *Germany's Drive to the West* (Baltimore, 1950). Henry Nash Smith of the University of Minnesota was awarded the John H. Dunning Prize for his study *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950).

### III

Several sessions were devoted to key problems that face the historical profession today. The basic issue of academic freedom was the topic chosen for the Mississippi Valley Historical Association dinner, presided over by Elmer Ellis of the University of Missouri. The speaker, John W. Caughey of the University of California at Los Angeles, gave an address entitled "Trustees of Academic Freedom." Professor Caughey discussed the general question of academic freedom, and talked about pressures exerted on professors during a crisis situation. He drew many of his illustrations from the present controversy at the University of California. There was great interest in Professor Caughey's speech. It may be noted, too, that the American Historical Association took a strong stand at its business meeting on the basic issue involved (see p. 742 below).

Harry J. Carman of Columbia University presided at the session on "What's Wrong with Graduate Training in American History?" Fred A. Shannon of the University of Illinois pointed out that professors in graduate schools too frequently permit mediocre students to complete work for the doctorate. William B. Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin stressed the research character of the Ph.D. Ralph W. Haskins of the University of Tennessee felt that those in charge of graduate instruction inadequately prepare students for their later work. Frederick H. Jackson of the University of Illinois claimed that graduate training should be pointed toward preparation for teaching.

At its 1949 business meeting, the Association stated its interest in historical activities of the federal government, and called for appointment of a committee to improve co-operation between scholars and the government. Because of this

action and the importance of the subject, a session was organized on "The Historian and the Federal Government." Harvey A. DeWeerd of the University of Missouri was chairman. G. Bernard Noble, chief of the Division of Historical Policy Research of the State Department, outlined the policies of his department as to the accessibility of manuscript records. Kent Roberts Greenfield, Chief Historian, Department of the Army, discussed the opportunities for private scholars in Army records. Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States, called attention to the rich resources of the National Archives, with its many untapped collections awaiting the interest of scholars. Philip M. Hamer of the National Archives, in "A National Program for Documentary Historical Publications," indicated that the future might see the federal government helping to make basic research materials available on a large scale.

Closely related to the problem of the accessibility of material is that of the "Evaluation of Historical Manuscripts." Paul M. Angle of the Chicago Historical Society dealt with this subject at the joint luncheon session of the American Historical Association and the Society of American Archivists. Dr. Angle urged administrators not to buy or accept as gifts manuscripts of no historical importance; and he favored weeding out useless items from existing collections. He also discussed the criteria involved. In the floor discussion, some questioned the legal or moral right and the expediency of disposing of materials accepted as gifts; but all recognized the seriousness of the space problem. Solon J. Buck, chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, presided at this session.

In the meeting devoted to the freshman history course, Sydney H. Zebel of Rutgers University analyzed existing offerings. He felt that most history of civilization courses left out or gave insufficient time to vitally important areas of knowledge, e.g., primitive man and the Far East. Thomas C. Mendenhall of Yale University emphasized the value of source materials. Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago showed how a freshman course stressing the history of ideas could be fitted into an interdepartmental general education program. All three speakers felt that the elementary course should help students understand the present age. In the discussion, Stebelton H. Nulle of Michigan State College said that interest in the present should not rule out adequate consideration of the direction of historical development. Dwight C. Miner of Columbia University welcomed experimentation, but warned against overloading the freshman course. Eugene N. Anderson of the University of Nebraska was chairman of this session.

Teaching problems were also considered in the joint session of the Association and the National Council for the Social Studies. This meeting, presided over by Erling M. Hunt of Columbia University, dealt with *American History in Schools and Colleges*, a report prepared by a committee of the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Council for the Social Studies. Both speakers—Edgar B. Wesley of the University of Minnesota and W. Francis English of the University of Missouri—felt that the report had had less influence than was desirable. Professor Wesley noted that in-

fluence had been greatest on elementary school texts; next, on junior high school texts; third, on senior high school books. Dean English observed that college survey courses had changed little, and deplored the continuing tendency to rely on lectures and a textbook almost exclusively. The discussion leader, Wesley Roehm of the Oak Park, Illinois, High School, believed that the report had been useful, and more influential than the speakers thought. He suggested similar reports in other fields, such as world history and civics. The floor discussion brought forth praise of the growing use of documents and literary materials; and there was disapproval of the tendency to entrust the basic college course to junior staff members. Several speakers felt that, while state legislatures of course have the power to establish requirements in the teaching and study of American history in schools and colleges, nevertheless, it is unfortunate and perhaps dangerous to have legislation which deals specifically with the content and organization of courses.

Carter Harrison of the Houghton Mifflin Company was chairman of the session on "The Publication Problem." M. M. Wilkerson, director of the Louisiana State University Press, described the selection and editing of manuscripts by university presses. He pointed out that, since subsidies are limited, university presses had to bear in mind the marketability of manuscripts. Frequently, however, popular titles can carry part of the cost of scholarly works of limited appeal. Alfred A. Knopf, the New York publisher, outlined some of the difficulties involved in publishing scholarly books in a period of rising costs. He indicated, however, that commercial publishers were by no means hostile to professional historians, and suggested that many scholars could, if they tried, reach a larger audience. Henry M. Silver of the American Council of Learned Societies talked chiefly about limited-market titles. For these, he proposed cheaper methods of publication, since neither commercial publishers nor university presses could afford to handle many such items.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the Association for State and Local History was devoted to the problem of "Bringing History to the Public." S. K. Stevens, state historian of Pennsylvania, presided. The central problem, and various new approaches, were treated in a panel discussion, by Ronald F. Lee, chief historian of the National Park Service; H. Bailey Carroll, director of the Texas State Historical Association; and AnnaBelle Lee J. Boyer, executive secretary of the Detroit Historical Society. Their statements, and the floor discussion, indicated the great progress made in this field during the past decade. Among the points stressed were the importance of historic restorations; reaching high school students; securing newspaper and radio publicity; and the tasks ahead.

#### IV

Several of the sessions that touched on American history dealt also with the history of other areas. No less than four sessions linked American and British



history. One of these dealt with Puritans and Quakers, another with British migration to the United States, a third with the Canadian and American plains, the fourth with foreign policy.

William L. Sachse of the University of Wisconsin was chairman of the session on the Atlantic community in the seventeenth century. Speaking on "Puritanism and Absolutism in Old and New England," George L. Mosse of the State University of Iowa saw the English and American sections of the Atlantic community drifting apart in political thought late in the century, as Parliament adhered to, and New England departed from, certain Renaissance political concepts, notably "reason of state." Marshall M. Knappen of the University of Michigan suggested that many Puritans were less concerned with theory than with practical problems, and felt that the origin of some Puritan theories might be Calvinistic rather than Machiavellian. In a paper on "Transatlantic Quakerism," Frederick B. Tolles of Swarthmore College and the Friends Historical Society noted that there was a standardized Quaker outlook on both sides of the Atlantic. Migration and travel helped explain this fact, and Quaker ideas and schisms spread rapidly from one side of the Atlantic to the other. Samuel C. McCulloch of Rutgers University supported this thesis, and pointed out several problems in Quaker history that need investigation.

British migration to the United States was considered in a joint session of the American Historical Association and the Economic History Association. Chester W. Wright of the University of Chicago presided. Herbert Heaton of the University of Minnesota used a special State Department census to analyze "British Migration to the United States, 1788-1815." He found that migration varied with business conditions; that the newcomers (half of whom came from Ireland) were young and engaged in widely scattered pursuits. Charlotte Erickson of Carthage College described "The Recruitment of British Immigrant Labor by American Industry, 1850-1900." She noted the methods used by American employers, and the abandonment of the program, as new machinery decreased the need for the more skilled workers and when Congress repealed the contract labor law in 1885. She also described and analyzed British employer and labor attitudes. Oscar Handlin of Harvard University and Daniel B. Creamer of the National Bureau of Economic Research led the discussion, which centered around the general character of immigration at different periods.

The session on "Canada and the United States: The Northern Great Plains," was presided over by A. L. Burt of the University of Minnesota. This program represented an effort to examine the possibilities of applying the regional approach on an international level. In a paper entitled "The Northern Great Plains: A Study in Canadian-American Regionalism," Paul F. Sharp of Iowa State College noted that the Canadian and American westward movements had both similarities and differences; and he stated that historians could learn much by studying both interdependence and contrasts. W. L. Morton of the University of Manitoba explored the problem from the point of view of one common element in his

paper on "The Significance of Site in the Settlement of the West." He stressed the importance of the competition for site, particularly in the early period of settlement. He found Canadian and American experience different before 1870, but found that contrasts tended to disappear after that date. Donald F. Warner of Macalester College, as discussion leader, endorsed the international approach to regionalism, suggested new research topics, and proposed applying the approach to such other regions as the Pacific Northwest and the Maritime-New England area.

In a joint session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association, Marshall M. Knappen of the University of Michigan spoke on "The United States as Britain's Heir." He said that the United States, as the leading Great Power with a democratic-liberal form of government, had inherited the world role formerly played by Great Britain. He found the quality of our performance about the same as that of democratic-liberal Britain after the Reform Bill of 1832, but felt that aristocratic-liberal Britain before 1832 had handled diplomacy more capably. The basic problem of the satisfied liberal "have" power is the containment of aggressive, dictatorial rivals; and dependence on the wishes of a mass electorate put democracies at a disadvantage in competition with dictatorships. He proposed work in adult education and pressure-group activity as a way out. The discussion leaders, Selig Adler of the University of Buffalo, and W. Stull Holt of the University of Washington, disagreed to some extent with Professor Knappen.

In the same session, Jeannette P. Nichols of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, read a paper on "The Dollar as Tool and Hindrance in Modern Diplomacy." She found that the State Department had tried to direct investment abroad into productive channels between the world wars, but that depression had brought defeat. Renewed efforts to use the dollar after 1945 had also failed, largely because of the weakness of political and military policies.

John S. Curtiss of Duke University presided over a session on Russian-American relations. William A. Williams of Washington and Jefferson College gave a paper entitled "New Light on Russian-American Relations, 1917-1933." He stressed the efforts of Raymond Robins and William Boyce Thompson to keep Russia in the war in 1917, and to keep the Bolsheviks out of power. After the October Revolution, Robins still hoped to keep Russia in the war, and later, he, Thompson, William E. Borah, and others worked for the recognition of Soviet Russia, only to meet with State Department opposition, and defeat, for a decade and a half. Harold H. Fisher, director of the Hoover Institute and Library, stated that the Soviet regime is a despotism based on exploitation, in his paper, "No Peace, No War." He denied Soviet claims to a new system of diplomacy based on the abolition of exploitation and aggression, and said that the Soviet Union, like the states of the sixteenth century, used sabotage, espionage, and subversion as adjuncts to diplomacy. There was an active floor discussion. Dr. Fisher an-

swered several questions; and Professor Williams, when challenged on certain of his conclusions, indicated the hitherto-unexploited manuscript collections on which he had based his statements.

The session on "American Entry into World War II" attracted the largest audience of the convention. Samuel F. Bemis of Yale University was the presiding officer. Charles C. Tansill of Georgetown University gave the first paper, on "Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan, 1931-1941: the Pacific Road to War." Professor Tansill said that Franklin D. Roosevelt "gave his ultimatum to Japan, November 26, 1941, with a complete understanding of the fact that it was a battle cry." Reviewing Japanese-American relations since Theodore Roosevelt's day, the speaker was critical of American efforts to check Japan, particularly in view of the fact that Japan was opposing Russia. Professor Tansill condemned Stimson's nonrecognition doctrine, and termed the Chicago quarantine speech of 1937 "really an invitation to war with Japan." Dexter Perkins of the University of Rochester took a very different view in his paper on "The Rooseveltian Foreign Policy and Public Opinion, with Some Commentary on Revisionist History." Using the evidence of polls, he said that Roosevelt's foreign policy was on the whole geared to the public opinion of the period. Congressional votes on the repeal of the arms embargo, lend-lease, and the arming of merchant ships, he said, pointed in the same direction, as did the nomination of Wendell Willkie in 1940. Less conclusive evidence, he added, indicates the movement of public opinion along lines coincident with administration policy in the Orient. In the discussion that followed, Harry Elmer Barnes of Cooperstown, New York, took a revisionist position, while Ruhl J. Bartlett of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy spoke on the other side.

Two sessions dealt with the military history of the Second World War. Kent Roberts Greenfield, chief historian of the Department of the Army, presided over the first of these, a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Military Institute, which considered "The Tactical Use of Air Power in World War II." Henry M. Dater of the Department of the Navy traced the development by the United States Navy of doctrine and procedures for the use of aircraft to increase the striking force of its fleet, cover amphibious assaults, and support ground forces ashore. Thomas J. Mayock of the Department of the Air Force showed how the model furnished by the co-operation between the Royal Air Force and Montgomery's Eighth Army helped resolve the conflict set up by the aspirations of the United States Air Forces for independent command and the need of the United States Ground Forces for air strikes in the "isolation" of the battle area and in the battle area itself. James A. Huston of Purdue University reviewed the doctrines by which this conflict was resolved, and pointed out the continuing defects of tactical co-operation with ground troops. He attributed these to the low priority given to tactical co-operation in competition with strategic bombing. Mr. Mayock stressed the War Department's 1943 an-

nouncement of the principles of air power. Professor Huston, however, felt that procedures worked out in combat were more important than officially stated doctrines in bringing about the tactical co-operation finally achieved by the Air and Ground Forces in 1944-1945.

A session on "Command Decisions in World War II" was presided over by Bell I. Wiley of Emory University. All three speakers were from the Historical Division of the Department of the Army. In "The Decision to Withdraw from Bataan," Louis Morton stated that MacArthur's decision of December 23, 1941, delayed the Japanese timetable of conquest for four months and kept large Japanese combat forces tied up in the Philippines. Hence, in the larger sense, the decision was wise, although the forces involved endured much suffering. George F. Howe maintained, in "Allied and Axis Command in the Mediterranean," that Allied forces in the Mediterranean were more effectively employed than those of the Axis, largely because of the respective command structures. Treating "Logistics and Tactical Decisions in Europe," Roland G. Ruppenthal showed how logistic limitations can dominate military movements. Tactical decisions made in August, 1944, brought an accelerated rate of advance, which made the supply situation so bad that the Supreme Allied Commander had to halt most offensive operations. Both commentators—James L. Cate of the University of Chicago and Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University—stressed the importance of the war history projects, and deplored the failure of the profession to make greater use of materials thus made available.

Another World War II session, dealing with Axis documents, will be noted in the section on European history.

## V

Wesley M. Gewehr of the University of Maryland served as chairman of the session on Negro slavery in the United States. Kenneth M. Stampf of the University of California presented a paper on "Negro Slavery in American History." He stated that subjective judgments had colored historical works on the institution. Professor Stampf suggested that more use be made of slave testimonials, and that the old approach based on the assumption of Negro inferiority be abandoned. He further said that it is dangerous to assume that slavery was either necessary or inevitable. In a paper entitled "The Measure of Freedom in the Slave States," Richard B. Morris of Columbia University argued that neither freedom nor bondage were absolute, and that "mechanisms of compulsion" often made indistinct the lines between free-white labor, slave labor, and bonded labor. He noted the deterioration of the position of white laborers and free Negroes in the South on the eve of the Civil War. In the discussion, Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky called attention to neglected source materials; and John Hope Franklin of Howard University, while stressing the need for a continuing re-examination of slavery, warned against the danger of reading the present into the past.

The American history sessions included also a notable meeting on the frontier, with Colin B. Goodykoontz of the University of Colorado as chairman. In "The Fallacy of New Frontiers," Walter Prescott Webb of the University of Texas said that there is no frontier in sight comparable in magnitude to the "Great Frontier," i.e., the whole of the Americas, which for four centuries could be regarded as the frontier of Europe. As this vast region was settled, people began to search for substitutes: new geographic frontiers, as in Alaska and Africa; social-economic "frontiers," as in opening new markets; scientific "frontiers" linked to new discoveries. Professor Webb considered these substitutes inferior to the real frontier. Lee Benson of Cornell University gave a paper on "The Historical Background of Turner's Frontier Essay." Mr. Benson noted that Turner's formative years fell in the era of the "communications revolution," when the world shrank into a single market with tremendous consequences for American farmers. In searching for reasons for the agricultural depression of the 1870's and 1880's, C. Wood Davis and others stressed the impending disappearance of free land. This view was then used by those who wanted to restrict immigration. "Closed-space ideas" were in the air, and Turner was influenced by them. James C. Malin of the University of Kansas said that Mr. Benson's studies had again demonstrated that it was in Europe, not America, that basic thinking was done about social organization. Although agreeing with most of Professor Webb's points as to substitutes for the frontier, Professor Malin took issue with the Great Frontier theory, and argued that each cultural age produces its own unique opportunities.

The biographical approach was featured in the joint session of the Southern Historical Association and the American Historical Association. Frank Owsley of the University of Alabama was the presiding officer. All the speakers dealt with individuals active in the era of sectional conflict—one from the deep South, one a border-state figure, one a northerner. Margaret L. Coit of West Newbury, Massachusetts, read a paper on John C. Calhoun. E. B. Smith of Youngstown College dealt with Thomas Hart Benton. Glyndon G. Van Deusen of the University of Rochester spoke on Horace Greeley. Robert Athearn of the University of Colorado was the discussion leader.

Another biographical session was devoted entirely to Franklin D. Roosevelt. The session was presided over by Herman Kahn, director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Library at Hyde Park, New York. Frank Freidel of the University of Illinois spoke on Roosevelt in the Wilson era, describing Roosevelt's work as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, his close connection with the admirals, and his training in politics under Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Josephus Daniels, and Louis Howe. Martin P. Claussen of the National Archives dealt with "Roosevelt's Training in International Politics, 1920-1939," starting with the League of Nations fight, and stressing Roosevelt's growing interest in diplomacy during his presidential years. David M. Potter of Yale University discussed "The

Memoir Writers: FDR as Seen by His Associates." Indicating the merits and faults of the works that have appeared to date, he noted that the memoir writers picture Roosevelt as a sociable, practical-minded individual, attentive to detail, able to act with firmness and competence, but sometimes politically inept.

The sessions on technology, university history, and urban history centered on subjects frequently neglected by historians. Abbott Payson Usher, emeritus professor at Harvard University, now lecturing at the University of Wisconsin, presided over the session on the history of technology. Louis C. Hunter of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces read a paper on "The Place of Technology in History." He pointed out that social scientists commonly underestimate the effect of technological change, a basic factor in cultural development. Calling for a new synthesis, he noted that the great-man theory obscures many features of the actual processes of change and leads to false emphasis on particular items. Discussing "Opportunities for Research in Technological History," Rudolf A. Clemen of Princeton, New Jersey, mentioned the need for monographs on particular industries, on branches of science and engineering, on the process of invention, on entrepreneurship, and on fundamental research. Richard N. Current of the University of Illinois related technology to promotion with respect to the typewriter, showing how close co-operation between Sholes (the inventor) and Densmore (the promoter) made possible this machine.

Arthur C. Cole of Brooklyn College was chairman of the session on "The History of American Colleges and Universities." Ernst Posner of the American University opened the session with a paper on "University Archives." A modern archives program, he said, was an administrative necessity as well as a service to the historian. He urged that the university archives be established through formal action of the governing body and have a clearly defined status as an independent agency or unit of the library, with authority to dispose of useless papers. Earl D. Ross of Iowa State College spoke on "Social Involvements in the History of Land-Grant Colleges." He urged historians to relate the history of land-grant colleges to changing social and economic trends and to the history of science and technology. Ollinger Crenshaw of Washington and Lee University noted the faults of many college histories, and discussed problems of sources and interpretation encountered in writing the history of his own institution. Thomas Le Duc of Oberlin College criticized earlier histories of individual colleges for emphasis on persons and property and for neglect of intellectual history. He favored suspending production of these works until more is known about the "unnoticed intellectual revolution of the nineteenth century—the massive revision of premises in every branch of learning." He felt, however, that individuals or teams could make useful contributions by studying special periods in the history of single institutions or unit ideas as they occurred in several institutions.

Bayrd Still of New York University presided over the session on "New Approaches to Urban History." Blake McKelvey, city historian of Rochester, New



York, surveyed the historical production of two decades in "The Present Status of Urban History Writing in the United States," and called attention to the historian's increasing recognition of the significance of urbanization in American life. In "New Approaches to the Study of Urban Growth," Wyatt W. Belcher of the State Teachers College, Superior, Wisconsin, stressed the economic forces that have stimulated the growth of American cities. Gerald Capers of Tulane University, in the discussion, suggested the importance of special factors, such as epidemics, on urban development; and Frederick D. Kershner, jr., of Ohio University, warned against emphasizing economic factors to the exclusion of political and other forces.

In a session devoted to Alexander Hamilton, James O. Wettereau of New York University read a paper on "The Historical Reputation of Alexander Hamilton." The discussion was led by Broadus Mitchell of Rutgers University, Robert E. Reeser of the University of Arkansas, and John C. Miller of Stanford University. Curtis P. Nettels of Cornell University was the presiding officer.

"Innovation and Management Policies" were treated at a joint meeting of the Business Historical Society and the American Historical Association. John E. Jeuck of the University of Chicago presided. Harold F. Williamson of Northwestern University talked about "The Winchester Repeating Arms Company: A Case Study," discussing the effort of that firm to sustain the expanded production facilities developed during World War I by expanding product lines. The merchandising decision generated new financial arrangements, and a radical change in distributive channels, which turned out to be ill-adapted to the new product lines. In his paper on "The Textile Machinery Industry: Influence of the Market on Management," Thomas R. Navin of Harvard University found the pattern of limited innovation explained largely by the peculiar matrix of customer relationships and demands, and partly by the traditional trade-school (as opposed to engineering) training of industry personnel.

The Lexington Group, devoted to the study of railroad history, held two joint sessions in co-operation with the American Historical Association. Under the chairmanship of Lucian C. Sprague, president of the Minneapolis and St. Louis Railway, the morning meeting opened with a paper by William G. Rector of the University of Minnesota on railroad logging in the Lake States. Since the common carriers could not or would not arrange to bring out timber from areas back from the streams, the lumbermen themselves had to provide transportation. The cost was high, but some logging railroads developed into common carriers. In the discussion, inaugurated by John H. Poore, vice-president of the Northern Pacific Railway, the consensus was that, although the construction of railroads was a financial burden to lumbermen, the effect was to hold down over-all costs. In a paper on "Railroad Administration in World War II," Duncan S. Ballantine of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology paid tribute to the railroad and government officials whose co-operation enabled the industry to rise to the demands of

the war without the need of highly centralized governmental direction. He emphasized the problems of plant capacity, and control of traffic on the coasts. The discussion was led by Ralph Budd of the Chicago Transit Authority, formerly president of the Chicago Burlington and Quincy, and an active participant in the Office of Defense Transportation.

The luncheon session of the Lexington Group honored the Illinois Central Railroad on the occasion of its centennial. Wayne A. Johnston, president of that railroad, presided. Robert M. Sutton of the University of Illinois gave a paper on the southern connections of the Illinois Central, described the steps by which Chicago was linked to the Gulf, stressing delays caused by war, lack of capital, and the character of the country traversed. Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky, and Carlton J. Corliss of the American Association of Railroads (and the official historian of the Illinois Central) discussed the paper.

The Agricultural History Society also held two joint sessions with the American Historical Association. In the first of these, Rodney C. Loehr of the University of Minnesota presided. Weymouth T. Jordan, Florida State University, described "Noah B. Cloud's Activities on Behalf of Southern Agriculture." Cloud was a soil builder who tested fertilizers, favored crop diversification, and had much influence in the middle of the nineteenth century, particularly as editor of the *American Cotton Planter*. Gilbert C. Fite of the University of Oklahoma read a paper on "George N. Peek, Farm Lobbyist of the 1920's." Peek and Hugh S. Johnson wanted American farmers to have a protected market at home, while they dumped their surplus abroad. Peek effectively promoted his ideas, which were embodied in the McNary-Haugen bills. The papers were discussed by James C. Bonner of the Georgia State College for Women, and by Paul F. Sharp of the Iowa State College. Everett E. Edwards of the United States Department of Agriculture then presented a report on teaching and research in agricultural history. Robert G. Dunbar of the Montana State University, and Malcolm C. McMillen of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute discussed the report. It appears that an adequate text is needed, and that research covers a very wide range of topics.

Herbert A. Kellar of the McCormick Historical Association presided over the luncheon session. Edward N. Wentworth of Armour's Livestock Bureau spoke on "A Livestock Specialist Looks at Agricultural History." Livestock herds, he said, tend to reflect the personality of their creator; and improvement is the work of gifted individuals rather than the result of mass action. In turn, certain important modern strains of livestock trace back to unusual animals who have transmitted their special qualities to their offspring.

The Newberry Library acted as host for a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Civilization Committee. The Newberry Library had arranged special exhibits for the occasion. Roy F. Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania was chairman of the session. Arthur E. Bestor, jr., of the University of Illinois gave the paper, entitled "The Study of American Civilization: Scholarship or Jingoism?" Professor Bestor said that the scholarly study

of American civilization, viewed in its broadest sense, could be the foundation of a genuinely liberal education. David Donald of Smith College was the discussion leader. In a floor discussion of the future of the American Civilization Committee, it was decided not to organize on a formal basis at this time.

## VI

The Program Committee made a definite attempt to organize sessions on regions that have received relatively little attention at historical conventions. Several of the areas selected are or have been under control of colonial powers. In consequence, it seemed logical to have a session on imperialism at the very beginning of the convention. At this session, Joseph J. Mathews of Emory University was presiding officer, and Lowell J. Ragatz of Ohio State University read a paper on the topic, "Must We Rewrite the History of Imperialism?" His answer was Yes, and he called for a completely recast treatment in general works, country and area studies. The subject, he said, had been dealt with almost entirely from the viewpoint of western white men; and historians had neglected the findings of other social scientists, as well as many historical source collections. The discussion leaders agreed with the demand for new studies, but felt that Professor Ragatz had been too sweeping in his condemnation of existing studies. William C. Askew of Colgate University defended existing studies of diplomatic rivalries in colonial areas. Rayford W. Logan of Howard University pointed to excellent studies by Negroes, and other writings. Henry R. Winkler of Rutgers University emphasized the need for studying the effects of imperialism on subject peoples, and the need for studies by the subject peoples themselves.

Burr C. Brundage of Cedar Crest College was chairman of the Near East session. A. O. Sarkissian of the Library of Congress surveyed nationalism in the Near East, this ranging from the almost complete lack of nationalistic feeling among the Kurds to the strong nationalism of the Egyptian and Turkish peoples. The Armenians, Iranians, and various Arabic-speaking peoples were covered. Nowhere in the Near East, however, has nationalism appeared in such complex and integrated form as among Euro-American nations. John G. Hazam of the College of the City of New York, in his paper, "Soviet Russia Eyes the Arabs," described Russian efforts to penetrate the Near East, by commercial activity before World War II, by political activity during the war, and by working against western powers since the war. Communist parties and the Orthodox Church played important roles. C. Ernest Dawn of the University of Illinois, the discussant, stressed the lack of political cohesion in the Arab world.

A session on Indonesia was held under the chairmanship of George McT. Kahin of the Johns Hopkins University. Professor Kahin noted the sad and untimely death of Professor John F. Embree of Yale University, who was to have read a paper at this session. Jan O. M. Broek of the University of Minnesota discussed "East Indonesia: Economic Problems and Prospects." He noted that eastern Indonesia was "on the periphery of the Asiatic culture sphere, the

transition zone between the Malay-Moslem and Melanesian-Papuan realms." It is less blessed by physical resources than the western part of the archipelago, and the resources have been much less developed. The Netherlands Indies regime launched an economic "new deal" after the war, and it is hoped that the new, predominantly Moslem Indonesian regime will maintain this policy and refrain from discriminating against the large Christian minority in East Indonesia. Justus M. van der Kroef of Michigan State College talked on "Indonesia and the Reconstruction of the Netherlands Empire," discussing the period of colonial occupation (to 1815); the period from 1815 to 1922, characterized first by economic self-interest, then by a growing recognition of Indonesia's national self-worth; and the years since 1922, with the trend toward autonomy.

An American possession was treated in an Alaska session, with Carl L. Lokke of the National Archives in the chair. Leland H. Carlson of Northwestern University described "The Great Nome Stampede of 1900," with its many disappointments. He closed with a survey of the judicial controversy, engineered by Alexander McKenzie of North Dakota, to secure and exploit several of the richest claims in the Cape Nome Mining District. In his paper on "The Problem of Permanent Settlement," Kenneth Björk of St. Olaf College noted that fishing has maintained more permanent residents than mining, farming, and trapping combined. The Territory still suffers from a shortage of "the three F's of settlement: females, families, farmers." Obstacles include land-title problems, transportation deficiencies, a housing shortage, and long-range bureaucratic control.

Harry R. Rudin of Yale University presided over the session on nationalism in Africa. Dorsey E. Walker of Bethune-Cookman College covered "Needs and Opportunities for Research on Certain Areas of Africa," noting some of the subjects and sources that should receive attention in this neglected field. Arthur N. Cook of Temple University shed light on the subject by the case-study approach, describing and analyzing the rise of nationalism in Nigeria. Raymond W. Bixler of Ashland College was the discussion leader.

Harold S. Quigley of the University of Minnesota presided over the panel discussion on "Recent Developments in China." Derk Bodde of the University of Pennsylvania discussed the failure of American policy-makers to appreciate Chinese ideology, a failure that has helped the Communists to convince the Chinese that we are imperialist. Robert C. North of the Hoover Institute and Library characterized the Chinese Communists as dialectical materialists who plan for a long period. Donald F. Lach of the University of Chicago explained the Chinese view that recognition should precede negotiation, and noted that seventeen states had recognized Peking. In his opinion, challenged during the discussion, American recognition of foreign governments has usually implied approval. Knight Biggerstaff of Cornell University described anti-Communist elements in China as scattered and at present of little significance. There was a lively floor discussion.

A session on Meiji Japan was under the chairmanship of John W. Hall of the

University of Michigan, who pointed out the world significance of the events that transpired in Japan during the Meiji period. Nobutaka Ike of the Hoover Institute and Library discussed "Democracy versus Absolutism in Meiji Japan," touching on the potentially democratic element in the fluid conditions of the early Meiji era. He emphasized the rural landholding and entrepreneurial class. The new leaders of Japan, however, soon crushed dissension and established an authoritarian government. Hyman Kublin of Brooklyn College dealt with "The Japanese Socialist Movement in the Meiji Period." Tracing the origin, course, and eventual suppression of the movement, he observed that Japan alone of the Asiatic nations had a tradition of a third movement between absolutism and communism. Commenting on Dr. Ike's paper, John A. Harrison of the University of Florida questioned the validity of the use of the word "democracy" in describing the anti-government movements of the Meiji period, and stressed the continuity of Japan's political and social tradition from the Tokugawa regime into the Meiji. Ardath W. Burks of Rutgers University, discussing Professor Kublin's paper, added information on the socialist thinkers of Meiji Japan.

There were two Latin-American sessions. The luncheon of the Conference on Latin-American Studies had George P. Hammond of the University of California as presiding officer, and Isaac J. Cox, William B. Greenlee, and William S. Robertson as guests of honor. Charles C. Griffin of Vassar College reported on the meeting in Santiago of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. Manoel Cardozo of the Catholic University presented a paper on "Manoel de Oliveira Lima and the Writing of History."

Ruth Lapham Butler of the Newberry Library was chairman of the afternoon session on Latin America. A paper on "Indian Caste in Peru, 1795-1940," by George Kubler of Yale University was read in his absence by Charles E. Nowell of the University of Illinois. As isolation and economic decline affect a region, the Indian caste is the first to disperse beyond control of the state, and is replaced by resident mestizos until some prosperity returns. Evidence of passage from Indian to non-Indian caste suggests that the composition of the Peruvian population is a social and not a biological process. Treating "The Condition of the Chinese Coolie in Peru," Watt Stewart of the New York State College for Teachers, Albany, New York, described as unenviable the lot of the 90,000 Chinese who entered Peru between 1849 and 1874. The Peruvian *hacendados*, guano operators and others who brought them in were interested in profits, not in humane treatment. The discussant, Howard Cline of Northwestern University, sought to amplify rather than to criticize the themes stated.

## VII

Modern European history was considered in several of the sessions already noted—for example, those on technology and imperialism. In addition, there were a dozen sessions specifically devoted to modern European questions.

The luncheon conference of the Modern European History Section had

Frederick B. Artz of Oberlin College as presiding officer. Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania reported on the International Congress of the Historical Sciences, held in Paris in the summer of 1950. Raymond P. Stearns of the University of Illinois then gave a paper on "The Royal Society of London: Retailer in Experimental Philosophy, 1660-1800." The activities of the society were a guide to the intellectual interests of the time, and shed light on the process of disseminating knowledge.

English history was also treated in a session on the Atlantic community in the seventeenth century (already noted) and in a meeting devoted to "The Government and Economic Life." Helen Taft Manning of Bryn Mawr College served as chairman. Mildred Campbell of Vassar College reported on the Anglo-American conference of last summer. The papers were by Conyers Read of the University of Pennsylvania, and Charles Mowat of the University of Chicago, both of whom discussed the relationship of government policy to the English economy. The papers covered widely separated periods, Professor Read speaking on "The Tudor Version of the Welfare State," while Professor Mowat handled the last century in his paper, "One Hundred Years of the Welfare State." Goldwin Smith of Wayne University led the discussion.

Robert B. Holtman of Louisiana State University was the presiding officer at the session on "National Propaganda in the French Revolution." Cornwell B. Rogers of Wiscasset, Maine, in his paper on "National Propaganda as Expressed in French Revolutionary Songs and Hymns," discussed two phases of nationalism as expressed in the songs: the righteousness of the revolutionary cause as opposed to the evil of its enemies; and the universal humanitarianism of the revolution. In his paper on "National Propaganda as Reflected in the Art of the French Revolution," David L. Dowd of the University of Florida considered painting, engraving, and sculpture, arts especially important because of the illiteracy of the masses. Revolutionary leaders used these arts a great deal, and they helped promote the official cult of the "fatherland," which served as the means of restoring the psychological unity of France. The discussion leaders, Paul H. Beik of Swarthmore College and Gordon McNeil of Coe College, called attention to some of the problems involved in using this sort of material in studying nationalism.

The session on "Recent Trends and Approaches to Early Nineteenth Century Austrian History" was under the chairmanship of Friedrich Engel-Janosi of the Catholic University of America. In his paper, "New Views on Metternich," Peter Viereck of Mount Holyoke College pleaded for a re-evaluation of the Austrian chancellor's position. He felt that, while Metternich's ideas had shortcomings, they were basically opposed to totalitarianism and influenced such contemporaries as Disraeli. Jerome Blum of Princeton University, in his paper on "New Views on the Austrian Nobility," analyzed the reformist movement in agriculture led by Austrian nobles in the pre-March period. In the discussion, Golo



Mann of Claremont Men's College asked if Professor Blum's economic interpretation of the period might not be replaced by a political one. Arthur J. May of the University of Rochester spoke of the influence on the American mind of the trends noted in the papers. The chairman suggested that a critical new edition of Metternich's papers might throw new light on his views.

John A. Hawgood of the University of Birmingham, England, was chairman of a session on nineteenth century German economic history, centering around the history of the *Zollverein*. Louis L. Snyder of the College of the City of New York spoke on "The Role of Friedrich List in the Establishment of the *Zollverein*." He stressed the fact that List's contribution to German unification was that he brought the economic factor into German nationalism, and he maintained that the national idea was basic to all of List's thinking. Oscar Hammen of Montana State University gave the other paper, on "The *Zollverein* as an Instrument of Retorsion." Professor Hammen pointed out that an important incentive to the formation of the *Zollverein* was the necessity to protect German industry against the products of other countries. The discussion was led by Arnold H. Price of the State Department, and William O. Shanahan of the University of Notre Dame.

A session on "The East and West in Early Modern Times" was presided over by Waldemar Westergaard of the University of California at Los Angeles. Walther Kirchner of the University of Delaware spoke on "Russia and Europe in the Sixteenth Century." He showed how western Europe (e.g., the Holy Roman Empire) made it difficult for Russia to communicate with the West. Dimitri von Mohrenschildt of Dartmouth College discussed the parallel development of the Enlightenment in East and West in his paper on "Russia and Europe in the Eighteenth Century." The discussion was led by C. Leonard Lundin of Indiana University and Robert R. Palmer of Princeton University.

C. E. Black of Princeton University presided over a session on "Eastern Europe." In a paper on "The European Significance of the November Rising," Charles Morley of Ohio State University stressed the relationship of the Polish revolt to the tense international situation resulting from the French revolution of July, 1830. Tsar Nicholas I planned an armed intervention in western Europe, with the Polish army as a spearhead, and did not definitely change his plan until the Polish army uprising. Otakar Odlozilik of Columbia University surveyed "Recent Trends in Czechoslovak Historiography," recalling the pioneer work of Palacký and the controversy between the critical school of Goll and the more nationalistic view of Pekař. He noted the stagnation of historical scholarship under the Communist regime. Charles Jelavich of the University of California described "Present Trends in Yugoslav Historiography, 1945-1950," noting the strict control which the Communist regime had established over historical scholarship, with resulting concentration on nationalism, using the ideology of socialism to overcome separatist tendencies. S. Harrison Thomson of the University of

Colorado, in leading the discussion, pointed out parallels between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Poland's position and in Russia's sense of mission. He also drew on personal experiences to describe conditions of historical work in Poland and Czechoslovakia since 1945.

Stuart R. Tompkins of the University of Oklahoma was the chairman of the session on "The Fate of Historiography at Russian Hands." Paul H. Aron of Sarah Lawrence College gave a paper on "M. N. Pokrovsky and the Soviet Historiography during the First Five-Year Plan." He noted how this chief Communist historian purged the research and teaching institutions of nonconforming historians; and how he maintained his positions by adjusting his theories to the shifting party line, as when he changed his interpretation of pre-1917 Russia to fit the first five-year plan. There were three discussion leaders: Michael Karpovich of Harvard University, Jesse D. Clarkson of Brooklyn College, and Oswald P. Backus of the University of Kansas. Professor Clarkson took issue with Professor Aron as to the significance of Pokrovsky's abandonment of the theory of "commercial capitalism," and claimed this was merely a matter of semantics. Professor Karpovich maintained that from the beginning of the revolution there had been an inherent contradiction between Marxist doctrine and the role of strong personal leadership.

In the session devoted to World War II documents, Harold C. Deutsch of the University of Minnesota was in the chair. John Huizenga of the Department of State described and analyzed the German documents which became available at the end of the war, and Thomas C. Smith of Stanford University treated the Japanese documents. E. Malcolm Carroll of Duke University led the discussion.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society of Church History was presided over by Ray C. Petry of Duke University. William M. Landeen of the State College of Washington read a paper on "Gabriel Biel and the Brethren of the Common Life in Germany," tracing Biel's background to the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life founded by Gerard Groote and later scattered over western Europe. L. J. Trinterud of the McCormick Theological Seminary, in a paper on "The Problem of Puritan Origins," traced the beginnings of the Puritan conception of "Covenant" to Continental sources and to the indigenous religious spirit in England.

The joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association dealt with European confessional parties in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Raymond J. Sontag of the University of California presided. Robert F. Byrnes of Rutgers University analyzed "The Failure of the French Catholics in Politics," noting that, socially, Catholic leaders represented groups which were suspect by those who had won power during the revolution; and, culturally, faith in progress and in science affected the situation. John K. Zeender of the University of Massachusetts considered "The

German Center Party and Some National Issues, 1890-1906." He explained why this party held a position of decisive importance, and showed how it used its position to secure removal of restrictions placed on religious organizations by Bismarck. Francis A. Arlinghaus of the University of Detroit led the discussion.

Harold J. Grimm of the Ohio State University was chairman of the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society for Reformation Research. George W. Forell of Gustavus Adolphus College read a paper on "Luther's Views concerning the Imperial Foreign Policy," and T. A. Kantonen of Wittenberg College spoke on "The Finnish Church and Russian Imperialism." This was followed by discussion from the floor.

### VIII

Tom B. Jones of the University of Minnesota presided over the ancient history session. In his paper on "The Perfect Democracy of the Roman Empire," Chester G. Starr, jr., of the University of Illinois maintained that the subjects of the Roman emperors realized autocracy of their government, but that some concluded that this autocracy was a perfect democracy inasmuch as it distributed to each man or class what was deserved. This concept came into full flower in the second century A.D. In the discussion James E. Seaver of the University of Kansas pointed out that more attention might have been paid to the Greek background of Roman imperial thought. Joseph F. McCloskey of LaSalle College, Philadelphia, found similarities between the equestrians as supporters of the Roman autocracy, and the bourgeoisie who supported European absolutism in the early modern period.

The session on medieval education had Gray C. Boyce of Northwestern University as chairman. George B. Fowler of the University of Pittsburgh discussed "Learning in Austria about 1300," showing the positive cultural developments of post-Hohenstaufen times and insisting that decline and confusion were not apposite for all German lands of that age. Commenting on this paper, John R. Williams of Dartmouth College agreed that decline was not the correct description, but stressed the presence of conservative tendencies when comparison is made with trends in France and Italy. In a paper on "Extra-Curricular Activities of Orléans Students," Dorothy Mackay Quynn of Frederick, Maryland, showed how these students, while pursuing legal studies, also received training in the *ars dictaminis* and the *ars notaria*, in vernacular French and the magical arts. In the discussion, Canon A. L. Gabriel of the University of Notre Dame and the Institute for Advanced Study emphasized the natural character of the language study, and noted also interest in music and the dance.

Palmer A. Throop of the University of Michigan presided over a session devoted to the "Twelfth Century Renaissance." The first paper, by Urban T. Holmes, jr., of the University of North Carolina, was on "The Idea of a Twelfth Century Renaissance." This was followed by a paper by Eva Matthews Sanford

of Sweet Briar College, on "The Twelfth Century: Renaissance or Proto-Renaissance?" J. C. Russell of the University of New Mexico led the discussion.

The annual dinner of the Medieval Academy of America had Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University as the presiding officer. Kenneth M. Setton of the University of Pennsylvania presented the paper, on "The Archaeology of Medieval Athens."

*University of Wisconsin*

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON

## The Year's Business, 1950

### REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1950<sup>1</sup>

Nine years ago to a day, and in this room, I made my first brief report as your executive officer of four months' standing. Then, as now, the nation and the whole world was facing a critical situation. Less than three weeks before, "the day of infamy" had brought us into a full-fledged world war in which we already had been tentatively engaged. Now nothing short of an all-out effort could save us and our allies from the threat of the fascist alliance. The prospect, win or lose, was dark for all our accustomed ways of life and especially for the cultural interests that led and lightened those ways. Among these were such voluntary organizations of scholars as this association of historians and citizens of like interests, at that time a group of some thirty-six hundred. One could not forefend the thought that in an all-out effort of total war this Association would be one of the not so minor casualties along with the colleges and universities where so many of our members had spent their lives in the tasks that opened the minds of the next generation to the strength we derived from our past and the broadening prospects for a better future. In the classrooms of all levels open to the children of all creeds and infinitely varied nationalities those of us who were teachers had revealed the possibilities of the common man and strove to make of one faith all manner of men. The nation, or rather the congeries of nations, thus united in a great experiment stood the test. Does anyone doubt that in even more trying times it will stand it again?

It is but a footnote to the story of the years since the long ago of 1941 that this Association survived. It not only survived but grew in membership by over two thousand since my first report. Its organ, the *American Historical Review*, helped keep scholarship alive against the day when the young scholars drawn into service should return to civil life. Partly as the result of the crippling or extinction of similar periodicals, it carried and still carries the responsibility for keeping the

<sup>1</sup> Read at the business meeting of the Association, December 29, 1950.

world of scholarship in touch with current activity in all historical fields. The rising flow of articles submitted this last year, 103 in all categories, is proof that historical research is again at normal. Indeed, if one adds to this the sixteen hundred doctoral theses in preparation, one's satisfaction may be shaded by concern for all the young people who are counting on an academic career. It is an irresponsible department of history that does not protect these candidates by making them eligible for teaching in schools other than colleges, and, under state requirements, for positions often better paid than any but the higher ranks in the college group.

Let me turn now to the business affairs that an executive officer must summarize annually for the information of the membership. Many items of importance I shall report later on behalf of your governing board, the Council. All of this work has been carried on by committees chosen from the membership. The main burden is necessarily borne by the chairman in any committee with a dispersed membership. For meetings and conferences he must in all but two of the endowed committees substitute an extended interchange of opinion by correspondence. That this procedure works is due this year, as in the past, to the energy of the several chairmen and the response of the members to their letters. Some day the Association should be in a position to support an occasional meeting of some of these committees, particularly the Committee on Nominations and the Program Committee. To keep committees distributed geographically and yet workable is an annual problem for the Committee on Committees and the Council.

Five committees award prizes. Of these the Watumull Prize for the best book in Indian history written and published in the United States is awarded biennially and in odd-numbered years. The awards of the Adams, Beveridge, and John H. Dunning committees will be announced this evening at the annual dinner. (See p. 712 above.) The George L. Beer Prize again goes unawarded for want of competition.

The Beveridge Committee through its chairman reports that at the end of a five-year experimental program in which the amounts and terms of the award have been varied the award will henceforth be called a fellowship and will be in the amount of one thousand dollars with the same generous arrangements for publication both of the winning manuscripts and, where possible, of other meritorious studies. The rising cost of printing is a constant concern of the committee. The steady sale of its selections published by the University of Pennsylvania Press is a gratifying ratification of its choices. A new contract has been negotiated with the press, which takes account of new conditions, but is not to the disadvantage of the committee's freedom in determining the content and editorial treatment of manuscripts. The work of this committee and its handling of its finances merit special commendation.

The same may be said of two other publishing committees with independent funds, the Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund under Professor Ray

Billington of Northwestern, and the Littleton-Griswold Committee under Professor R. B. Morris of Columbia University. The slow and exacting work of the latter committee in transcribing and editing colonial judicial records has gone ahead satisfactorily in the past year. The work of this committee has been possible because of the personal scholarly interest and devotion of its chairman. It is to be hoped that the committee will remain intact until it has given us a volume for each of the thirteen colonies. It will then be time for the committee and the Council to determine on future activities. The selection of a manuscript by the Carnegie Fund Committee will be announced this evening. (See p. 712 above.) Chairman Billington reports that the arrangements for publication of its choices by the Cornell University Press continue to be mutually satisfactory. The Association thus adds its testimony to the growing reputation of the university presses as agencies for the publication and distribution of scholarly works.

The chairman of the Committee on Documentary Reproduction, Professor Edgar L. Erickson of Illinois, reports that Professor Rice has completed his microfilming task on unpublished inventories of the Archives Nationales. Professor Nasatir is microfilming material in Paris on the American Revolution, Professor Peter Topping is at work in Greece on bibliography and, later, microfilming of selected records on Greek history, and Professor Robert Reynolds is in Genoa with a similar project for medieval trade. Fulbright grants to scholars will supplement the committee's program. The microprint of the British House of Commons Sessional Papers has resumed and since May, 1950, monthly deliveries have been made to subscribing libraries. The devotion and competence of Chairman Erickson is making an enviable record for this committee.

The Committee on Government Publications through its chairman, Mrs. Jeannette Nichols, reviews its past in sustaining the publishing activities of the federal government, especially the series sponsored by the State Department. This year Mrs. Nichols surveyed the many departments and agencies of the government that had had publication programs of a historical character during the war. Responses to her questionnaire came from thirty-two units. The result showed the effect of postwar economy in limiting or liquidating such programs even when they were in manuscript form. It showed, equally, the willingness in many cases to make available unpublished studies and to open unexploited archives to qualified research students including those seeking topics or material for doctoral dissertations. The events of the few weeks since the chairman reported make the outlook much darker for the completion of official histories that would have given us the distilled experience of one national crisis to guide us in facing another. In all this Mrs. Nichols has co-operated as a member with the ad hoc Committee on Historians and the Federal Government authorized at Boston last year. The work of this latter committee and its relation to the standing committee was considered at the Council meeting on Wednesday and will be reported later in reviewing the work of that session. Mrs. Nichols for her committee will present later today certain resolutions for your approval.



The Committee on the *Annual Report* finds itself without an agenda. In past years it solicited and chose manuscripts to be published as part of the *Report*. The funds then available through the Smithsonian Institution are now pledged to their limit to produce the volumes of the *Writings on American History* so long as funds can be found to prepare the manuscript, and thereafter, or coincidentally, to publish the Matteson index of previous volumes. I can add to this for your information that the manuscript for the *Writings on American History* covering 1948 has been sent to the Government Printing Office and the copy for the 1949 volume is well advanced in preparation. All this was made possible by the \$15,000 given by this Association to the Library of Congress for the salary of Dr. Master-son and his assistant. Also, the membership list with addresses as reported up to October 5 will be part of the slim official volume printed annually as a report to Congress. As only two thousand copies of this volume are sent to a long-standing list of members out of nearly six thousand, the Superintendent of Documents has been asked to stock and sell separates, probably at a price of thirty cents. The *Review* will carry a notice later. (See p. 745 below.)

The report of the ad hoc Committee on Archival Treatment of Personal Papers authorized in December, 1948, has been submitted by Miss Katharine Brand on behalf of the chairman, Professor Thomas C. Cochran. It is so long and detailed that I shall not attempt to summarize it. It is, however, so important for those who are interested in the management of personal manuscripts as archival material that it will be published in full in the *Annual Report*.

Our representative on the American Council of Learned Societies, Professor Strayer, reports that in addition to its usual program the Council has pointedly concerned itself with the development and preservation of the individual scholar. To that end a grant from the Markle Foundation has enabled it to add a few fellowships for assistant professors to its program for assistance to graduate students in the humanities. All efforts by the director to get even an explanation of the rigid passport procedures of the State Department in the matter of exchange of scholars have failed completely. Fulbright fellows recommended last June and now on leave without salary are still waiting clearance.

Professor Shepard Clough reports that the Social Science Research Council has an active committee on historiography which is preparing a volume on the relation of the social sciences to history and that the committee on economic history is actively publishing the results of studies it has supported. This last year saw the initiation of a series of faculty research fellowships giving half-time support over a three-year period. Of the forty-five area fellowships nine have been given to appointees in history, and of the twenty-five grants-in-aid nine have been given to support historical studies. In the category of research training fellowships eight of forty-three granted are in history. The attention of young scholars and their sponsors in the field of history is called especially to the possibilities of financial support by these two bodies in which the Association through its delegates is an active member.

Professor Donald McKay has been our efficient and influential member of the executive committee of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. The meeting of the Congress, the first since World War II, was held in Paris, August 27 to September 2, and was well attended. Austria, Spain, and Israel were fully accredited and Germany on principle awaiting only proof of the representative character of the new German historical association. No countries behind the iron curtain attended, although two paid their dues. The announced program of some 230 papers was followed and reported reasonably successful. The major papers of the morning sessions have been published. The new president for the next five years is Professor Robert Fawtier of France. The next Congress will be held in Rome in 1955 and Stockholm was placed in line for the meeting in 1960. The American attendance was not as large as had been hoped. (See report, p. 746 below.)

Professor Destler reports for *Social Education* a continuing improvement in content under the editorship of Dr. Lewis Paul Todd. The editor has accepted an appointment in New York University. It is hoped his new duties will not prevent his continuing editorship.

The results of the work of the Program Committee and the Committee on Local Arrangements for this session need no summary by me. The attending membership is their debtor, especially to the two chairmen, Professor Fred Harrington of Wisconsin, and Dr. Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library in Chicago.

The labors of the Committee on Nominations was embodied in the ballot you received and the results of your voting for members of the Council and next year's Committee on Nominations will be announced later by the chairman, Professor Robert Palmer. (See p. 741 below.)

To the chairmen and committee members who alone realize how drastically I have summarized their reports I can offer only an apology and the pressure of time at these sessions. The reports will be printed in full in the next *Annual Report*.

It is to be hoped that you will return to your tasks after this meeting with a heightened sense of the value of history in steadying the decisions we must make as a nation. You as individuals fortified by a knowledge of the past and with a longer perspective on the future will have your courage and good sense tested in many ways by outcroppings of national and international tensions. Public life, like the depths of the ocean, is the habitat of strange and wonderful creatures. Unlike those in the ocean, it takes only a surface agitation to throw political unknowns into unpredictable activity. No living creature in their vicinity, however peaceful and blameless, is safe when they strike out blindly. In human terms the headline hunter's most defenseless victim is often the teacher, writer, or public servant. The abler the latter is, the more violent is the effort to bring him down to the level of the demagogues. Soon the outcry will be raised against teachers

and textbooks. Most of us have seen this kind of blackmail, not once, but several times in the last few decades of war and social legislation. It will come again and I think I could spot on a map a few places where it is endemic. I will venture to say that when it starts, the District of Columbia will be near the front of the procession. There is in all this an indication of a certain immaturity and the confusion and uncertainty of little minds. During the recent conference between Mr. Attlee and Mr. Truman and their advisers in an effort to reach decisions for which the whole world waited, one could not but contrast the way in which the English Parliament and press and people closed ranks behind the leader of the moment and the redoubled attacks in our own country on our responsible leaders. It appeared almost as though we were fighting a future political campaign when national unity was imperative. I mention these things only to enforce the obligation laid doubly upon us as historians and citizens to keep our people sane and firm while we face a national and international crisis whose resolution no man can now predict with assurance. If any group can keep the dust raised by demagogues out of our eyes as we peer into the future, it should be the historians and the teachers of history. I for one have confidence that they will realize their responsibility and summon their courage to match their intelligence in meeting their opportunity.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL STEVENS, CHICAGO,  
DECEMBER 27, 1950, 2:00 P.M.

Present: Samuel E. Morison, President; Robert L. Schuyler, Vice-President; Solon J. Buck, Treasurer; Guy Stanton Ford, Executive Secretary; A. E. R. Boak, Leo Gershoy, Paul Knaplund, J. G. Randall, Max H. Savelle, A. P. Whitaker, Councilors; Kenneth S. Latourette, Conyers Read, former Presidents; W. Stull Holt, Pacific Coast Branch.

President Morison called the meeting to order.

The minutes of the 1949 Council meeting were approved as published in the April, 1950, issue of the *Review* (pp. 764-69).

Mr. Ford summarized his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. (See pp. 730-35 above.)

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, reviewed the financial statement for the fiscal year 1949-50 which he later summarized at the business meeting. The financial assets of the Association on August 31, 1950, amounted to \$402,504.34 of which \$166,145.44 is unrestricted and \$236,358.90 restricted. The disbursements of unrestricted funds exceeded receipts by \$8,005.75. However, the disbursements include a contribution of \$10,000 toward editorial expenses of *Writings on American History* and other nonrecurring items.

Dr. Buck reported for the Finance Committee, submitting an amended budget for the current year and a proposed budget for the next fiscal year. After some discussion and explanation these were approved with certain adjustments in salary to the staff (excluding the Executive Secretary) for the increased cost of living.

The Executive Secretary reported that following the directions given by the Council a year ago he had closed out the accounts of the Radio Committee with the balance of \$194.10 and the Committee on Americana with the balance of \$543.29. Funds of the latter committee already in the treasury of the Association amounted to \$2,026.65. These funds will be transmitted to the trustees for investment. Both committees were formally discharged.

The Council reaffirmed as a general policy the limitation of membership on committees to three years. It recognized that in certain committees there might be justifiable exceptions to this general rule.

The following committees and delegates of the Association were approved by the Council:

*Committee on Committees.*—Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky—term expires December, 1951; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); T. Walter Johnson,\* University of Chicago—term expires December, 1953; David E. Owen,\* Harvard University—term expires December, 1953; Edgar E. Robinson,\* Stanford University—term expires December, 1953.

*Committee on Honorary Members.*—Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Department of State, chairman; E. Malcolm Carroll, Duke University; John K. Fairbank, Harvard University; Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Lewis Hanke, Library of Congress; Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C.; Geroid T. Robinson, Columbia University; Raymond J. Sontag, University of California, Berkeley.

*Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.*—Sidney Painter, the Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Henry Cord Meyer, Pomona College, Claremont, California; A. William Salomone,\* New York University.

*Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize.*—Howard M. Ehrmann, University of Michigan, chairman; Richard W. Leopold,\* Northwestern University; Howard M. Smyth,\* Department of the Army.

*Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize.*—Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley, chairman; David Potter, Yale University; Francis B. Simkins,\* Louisiana State University.

*Committee on the Publication of the Annual Report.*—Philip Hamer, National Archives, chairman; Solon J. Buck, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); St. George L. Sioussat, Chevy Chase, Md.; A. Curtis Wilgus, George Washington University.

*Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund.*—Arthur P. Whitaker,

\*New member this year.

University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Philip Davidson, Vanderbilt University; Dorothy Burne Goebel, Hunter College; Henrietta Larson, Forest Hills, N. Y.; C. Vann Woodward, the Johns Hopkins University.

*Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications.*—Ray A. Billington, Northwestern University, chairman; Lynn M. Case, University of Pennsylvania; Harold W. Bradley,\* Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, California; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Raymond P. Stearns, University of Illinois.

*Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund.*—Richard B. Morris, Columbia University, chairman; Zechariah Chafee, jr., Harvard University; John Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania; William B. Hamilton, Duke University; George Haskins, University of Pennsylvania; Mark D. Howe, Harvard University; Leonard W. Labaree, Yale University; Richard L. Morton, College of William and Mary; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Newark, New Jersey.

*Committee on the Watumull Prize.*—Taraknath Das, Columbia University, chairman; Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin.

*Committee on Documentary Reproduction.*—Edgar L. Erickson, University of Illinois, chairman; Cornelius W. de Kiewiet, Cornell University; Austin P. Evans, Columbia University; Milton R. Gutsch, University of Texas; Lawrence A. Harper, University of California, Berkeley; Louis Knott Koontz, University of California, Los Angeles; Loren C. MacKinney, University of North Carolina; Easton Rothwell, Stanford University; Warner F. Woodring, Ohio State University.

*Committee on Government Publications.*—Jeannette P. Nichols, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, chairman; James H. Rodabaugh,\* Columbus, Ohio; Joseph G. Tregle, jr.,\* Loyola University, New Orleans.

*Delegates of the American Historical Association.*—*American Council of Learned Societies:* Joseph R. Strayer, Princeton University. *International Committee of Historical Sciences:* Donald C. McKay, Harvard University; Philip E. Mosely, Columbia University. *National Records Management Council:* Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1952. *Social Education:* Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex (ex officio); Chester McArthur Destler, Connecticut College. *Social Science Research Council:* Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University—term expires December, 1951; Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri—term expires December, 1952; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania—term expires December, 1953.

On behalf of the Albert J. Beveridge Committee its chairman, Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, stated that after a five-year experimental period the committee has agreed to make permanent the plan on which it has been operating. It will continue its award under the name of fellowship and the amount here-

\*New member this year.

after will be \$1,000. During the year the chairman with the approval of the Executive Secretary has concluded a new and satisfactory contract with the University of Pennsylvania Press, which will continue to publish manuscripts accepted by the committee.

The Committee on Honorary Members reported that the quota of fifteen members was full and it, therefore, made no recommendations.

The Executive Secretary reported that the ad hoc Committee on the Archival Treatment of Personal Papers had completed its work and submitted its final report. As this report was detailed and somewhat lengthy, no attempt was made to summarize it. It will be printed in the *Annual Report* and perhaps in some appropriate journal earlier. Its work being completed, the committee was discharged.

The report of the ad hoc Committee on Historians and the Federal Government had been reproduced and circulated in advance to the members of the Council. This report was made the subject of a somewhat extended discussion. The request of the committee for a small fund from the Association treasury, in addition to the Rockefeller Foundation grant of \$1,000, was declined by the Council. The Council further affirmed its opinion that the committee should discontinue its list of corresponding members and not add any additional members to its present roster. The Council continued the committee until the annual meeting of 1951 giving the chairman authority to solicit funds in an amount not to exceed \$2,000 for the committee's meetings during this year. It was agreed that the work of the committee would be reviewed at the 1951 meeting of the Council and that, if the committee were continued, the determination of its membership should come under the regular procedure of the Association, namely, nomination by the Committee on Committees, and that at all times the committee should keep in close touch with the office of the Executive Secretary.

Professor Conyers Read, chairman of the above committee, presented a letter from Mr. G. Bernard Noble, chief of the Division of Historical Policy Research of the Department of State. Mr. Noble pointed out that the recruitment of historians through civil service procedures has been unsatisfactory to several of the major departments, such as State and Defense, and to the Civil Service Commission itself. He suggested a committee of historians who would join in a conference of the interested government departments to see whether a more effective and discriminating procedure could be set up to select and enlist historians in government service. The choice of the committee was referred to the incoming president. (President Schuyler later appointed Frederic C. Lane of the Johns Hopkins University, Thomas C. Cochran of the University of Pennsylvania, and Gordon A. Craig of Princeton University.)

The Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review* informed the Council that Professor Lawrence H. Gipson was retiring after his five-year term on the Board of Editors and that Professor James B. Hedges of Brown University had



consented to accept appointment as his successor. The Council indicated its approval of this selection.

As delegate to the Social Science Research Council for a three-year term the Council elected Professor Roy F. Nichols, as delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies for a two-year term, Professor Joseph R. Strayer. In each case these delegates are their own successors. In a general discussion the Council indicated that in its opinion, although the terms of these delegates were a reasonable exception to the general rule of tenure (see above), there should be such a rotation as would not diminish the value of our delegates to these councils or to the Association itself.

The Executive Secretary then presented the substance of the new law reorganizing the National Historical Publications Commission under the act amending the functions of the office of General Services Administration. In addition to two members appointed by the President, one by the Archivist, one by the Librarian of Congress, one by the presiding officer of the Senate, one by the Speaker of the House, one by the Chief Justice, one by the Secretary of State, one by the Secretary of Defense, two were to be elected by the Council of the American Historical Association. The Council then elected Julian P. Boyd of Princeton University and Guy Stanton Ford.

Professor W. Stull Holt of the University of Washington reported briefly for the Pacific Coast Branch on its membership and sound financial condition. The Executive Secretary was directed to send a telegram of good will and good wishes to the Branch, which was meeting on the campus of Occidental College in Los Angeles, December 27-29.

The Council after full discussion decided that the issues involved in the controversy between the Board of Regents and the faculty of the University of California touched issues which could not be passed in silence by an association deeply concerned with freedom of teaching, learning, and security of tenure for scholars. It was agreed that the matter should be referred to the annual business meeting in terms of a resolution which the Council then agreed upon. (See p. 742 below.)

The Council approved the budget for *Social Education*. Professor Chester McArthur Destler of Connecticut College was re-elected to serve with the Executive Secretary on the Board of *Social Education*.

The Council confirmed the action of the Executive Secretary in securing Professor Sherman Kent of Yale University as chairman of the Program Committee for 1951 and Professor Henry F. Graff of Columbia University as chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, each chairman being authorized to complete the roster of his committee. (Since this action, summons to public service has made it impossible for Professor Kent to serve and Professor William H. Dunham, jr., of Yale University has been appointed in his place.)

The Council accepted with appreciation and an expression of gratitude the

offer of Professor Taraknath Das in behalf of the Taraknath Das Foundation to establish the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize of \$100 to be given every five years "to the author of the best work of scholarship published during the preceding five-year period in the field of modern British and British Imperial and Commonwealth history, since the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, exclusive of American colonial history before 1783. Textbooks and elementary narratives will not be eligible—the author must be an American citizen and the book must have been originally published in the United States. The first award is to be made in 1951." The Committee on Committees was authorized to appoint a committee to act in 1951. (The following committee has been chosen: Professor Paul Knaplund, University of Wisconsin, chairman, Professor John B. Brebner, Columbia University, and Professor George W. Brown, University of Toronto.)

The Executive Secretary, having duplicated and circulated to the Council a letter from the executor of the Matteson estate, was authorized to negotiate and, if necessary, to litigate the fixing of a reasonable fee for the executor's services.

Dr. Buck reporting for the Library of Congress indicated that the funds given by the Association to prepare the *Writings on American History* for 1948 and, if possible, for 1949 would be expended by approximately the first of March. As the copy for the 1948 volume has been sent to the printer, the failure of the expiration of the funds would leave unfinished the task of proofreading and of completing copy for the 1949 volume. The administration of the Library of Congress had indicated that it would make every effort to find the necessary funds in the sum of \$3,600 to continue the services of Dr. Masterson and his assistant to the end of the fiscal year of the Library, June 30. The Library is including in its budget request the sum of \$10,000 annually for the continuation of the preparation of the *Writings*. It was the sentiment of the Council that its members and the members of the Association should do everything they reasonably could to support this request before the appropriate committees of Congress. The incoming president of the Association was authorized to appoint a committee which would stimulate and direct these expressions of interest.

The Executive Secretary reported that he had been very fortunate in securing in Mrs. Esther Murphy a competent person to recopy and reorganize the mass of entries for the index of the *Writings on American History* left by Mr. Matteson. The income from the Matteson estate so far transferred was sufficient to support this work. Volume I, A–K, is now ready, except for the front material, to go to the printer. Mrs. Murphy will continue with the more difficult entries, L–Z. Printing of these volumes will depend in large part upon the availability of funds through the allotment to the Association from the appropriation of the Smithsonian Institution.

The Council authorized the Executive Secretary to dispose at bargain prices several separate *Papers* of the American Historical Association which have for years been stored in the Smithsonian Institution. An announcement of this offer will be found in the news section of the *Review*. (See p. 745 below.)

The Council voted to hold the 1953 meeting of the Association in Chicago. The meeting in 1951 will be in New York and in 1952 in Washington, D. C.

The Council elected the following members of the Executive Committee: Robert L. Schuyler, chairman; Conyers Read; Samuel E. Morison; Arthur P. Whitaker; Solon J. Buck (ex officio); Guy Stanton Ford (ex officio).

The Council appointed Professors James G. Randall, Leo Gershoy, and Max H. Savelle as members of the Committee on Resolutions.

Under the head of new business the Executive Secretary reported that the Director of the Census has indicated that he would welcome a committee of historians to advise on historical studies in the field of American immigration. Mr. Ford said that it seemed appropriate to make this essentially a joint committee with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and he was authorized to proceed with the appointment of such a committee. (The committee as finally constituted is O. Fritiof Ander, chairman, Augustana College, Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota, Oscar Handlin, Harvard University, Frank L. Owsley, University of Alabama, Carl Wittke, Western Reserve University. See note, p. 746 below.)

There being no further business, the Council adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN  
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL STEVENS, CHICAGO,  
DECEMBER 29, 1950, 4:15 P.M.

President Samuel E. Morison called the meeting to order with about two hundred members present. It was unanimously voted to approve the minutes of the last meeting as printed in the April, 1950, issue of the *American Historical Review* (pp. 769-71).

Mr. Ford read his report as Executive Secretary and Managing Editor. (See pp. 730-35 above.)

The Treasurer, Dr. Buck, presented a summary of his report, copies of which had been distributed to the members. The motion was made and passed to accept the report and to place it on file. (The report will be printed in full in the *Annual Report* for 1950.)

Mr. Stanton Griffis was unanimously re-elected to the Board of Trustees.

A brief statement on deceased members was given by Mr. Ford reporting the deaths of eight life members and thirty-three annual members since December, 1949.

The chairman, Professor Robert R. Palmer of Princeton University, gave the report of the Nominating Committee. As a result of the mail ballots cast, the committee announced the election of the following:

Members of the Council—Dexter Perkins of the University of Rochester and Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University.

Members of the Nominating Committee—Carl Bridenbaugh of the University of California, Berkeley, Miss Beatrice Hyslop of Hunter College, Robert L. Reynolds of the University of Wisconsin, and Richard H. Shryock of the Johns Hopkins University.

For the Presidency of the Association for the year 1951, the committee nominated Professor Robert L. Schuyler; for the Vice-Presidency, Professor James G. Randall; and for the office of Treasurer, Dr. Solon J. Buck. On motion, the Executive Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for all nominees, and they were declared elected.

Mr. Ford reported on the following actions taken by the Council at its meeting (see minutes of the Council meeting, pp. 735-41 above):

The report of the Committee on Committees; the appointment of Professor James B. Hedges as the new member of the Board of Editors; the re-election as delegate of Professor Roy F. Nichols to the Social Science Research Council, of Professor Joseph R. Strayer to the American Council of Learned Societies, and of Professor Chester McArthur Destler on the Board of *Social Education*; the election of Dr. Julian P. Boyd and Guy Stanton Ford to the National Historical Publications Commission; the announcement of the program chairman, Professor Sherman Kent,<sup>1</sup> and the local arrangements chairman, Professor Henry F. Graff, for the 1951 meeting; the place of the 1951, 1952, and 1953 meetings; the membership of the Executive Committee; the report of the ad hoc Committee on Historians and the Federal Government; the disposition of the balance held for the Radio Committee (\$194.10) and for the Committee on Americana (\$543.29); the changes in the terms of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship; the acceptance of the offer of Professor Taraknath Das to establish the Robert Livingston Schuyler Prize; progress of the preparation of the *Writings on American History*; the present status of the Matteson bequest; the report of the ad hoc committee on the handling of manuscripts, chiefly personal papers received by depositories; the appointment of a committee of five to advise the census director on possible studies and publications by the Bureau of Census in the field of American immigration.

From various sources, including the membership of the Association, the attention of the Council and the executive officers has been called during the last year to the situation which has arisen on the campus of the University of California. After discussion of the interests and responsibilities of this Association as a learned society, it was determined by the Council that the controversy in the University of California came within the purview of the interests of the American Historical Association. Thereupon the Council formulated the following resolution which is submitted for the consideration of the Association:

During the past year the American scholarly world has watched with mounting concern the actions of the Board of Regents of one of our great universities,

<sup>1</sup> Professor Kent has been summoned to public service and finds it impossible to serve. (See note on Program Committee, p. 745 below.)

the University of California. This institution has in the past attained an enviable reputation as a leader in research, teaching, and service to the state and nation. The relations between its governing board and its staff have contributed much to create the atmosphere in which free scholarship can work with security based on the fundamental right to tenure for faithful service, and the observance of procedures long accepted at California for the appraisal of academic fitness. By a series of steps the Board has undermined the good feeling hitherto existing between it and the faculty. By replacing tenure with an annual appointment as an overhanging threat academic freedom has been imperiled. The American Historical Association at its meeting in Chicago, December 29, 1950, records its concern at the effect of these policies on the University of California and on higher education everywhere. It authorizes its secretary to transmit this expression of concern to the members of the Board of Regents of the University of California together with its hope that the Board will find it possible to review its recent actions dispassionately and find a solution in keeping with its past creditable record in the conduct of the university's affairs.

The resolution was approved.

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch was presented by Professor W. Stull Holt.

The following resolutions were submitted by Mrs. Jeannette P. Nichols:

*Whereas* the Department of State long since embarked upon a scholarly and authoritative edition of *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States*, which has proved a valuable and well-nigh indispensable adjunct to historians, international lawyers and practicing diplomats; and

*Whereas* the publication of this series has proceeded no further than the date 1858 and now is in a status of doubtful continuance:

*Resolved*, That the American Historical Association urge the Secretary of State to resume the necessary editorial work and publication of this series.

*Whereas* essential source material for sound historical study of American diplomacy is furnished by *Foreign Relations of the United States*—a series in the publication program of the Department of State: and

*Whereas* a number of volumes of *Documents on British Foreign Policy* and *Documents on German Foreign Policy* already have been published, presenting the records of those foreign offices for the crucial pre-1939 years while the corresponding records of the Department of State remain unpublished:

*Resolved*, That the American Historical Association hereby commend the Department of State for its efforts in presenting the German records and urge that this project be continued actively, but also urge, most strongly, that the *Foreign Relations of the United States* no longer shall be allowed to fall in arrears and shall, in fact, be brought much closer to date.

On motion made and carried, the above resolutions were approved.

Professor Leo Gershey submitted the following resolution for the Committee on Resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the American Historical Association express its appreciation to all those whose co-operation made possible the sixty-fifth annual meeting. In par-

ticular, its thanks go to Dr. Stanley Pargellis, chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, and to the other members of the committee; to Professor Fred Harvey Harrington, chairman of the Program Committee, and his associates, whose careful planning has produced this rich and diversified program; to the directors and the staff of co-operating institutions, such as the Newberry Library and the Chicago Historical Society, which have hospitably extended their facilities for the edification of the members of the Association; to the Chicago Convention Bureau for clerical assistance; to the students from the department of journalism of Northwestern University for their aid with publicity; and, not least, to the Stevens Hotel in general and, in particular, to Mr. James Collins of the Convention Bureau, for its excellent services and its many courtesies.

This resolution was unanimously approved.

As there was no further business, Professor Frank M. Anderson moved that the meeting be adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF  
THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HOTEL STEVENS,  
CHICAGO, DECEMBER 29, 1950

Present: Robert L. Schuyler, chairman; Conyers Read; Samuel E. Morison; Arthur P. Whitaker; Solon J. Buck (ex officio); Guy Stanton Ford (ex officio).

Mr. Ford as Executive Secretary presented the results of conferences he held that afternoon with members of the ad hoc Committee on Historians and the Federal Government. The Executive Committee also had before it the letter of the President which had just been read by President Morison. On behalf of the Association the Executive Committee accepted the implied commission in the President's letter. It recognized that, first, an important appointment would be that of the person in charge of the historical program dealing with current activities and agencies. It was understood that this person would be located in the Bureau of the Budget. The Executive Committee approved the appointment of Messrs. Wayne Grover, Conyers Read, and Guy Stanton Ford as a committee to offer suggestions to the Director of the Budget, if requested, as to a possible appointee. This service rendered, the committee would dissolve. The incoming President and the Executive Secretary were authorized to offer to the head of the historical program, when appointed, the advisory services of a committee of historians to aid in recruiting its staff and to be helpful in any other way the director deemed useful to the success of the program. The President and Executive Secretary were to appoint this second larger committee after consultation with such other members of the Council as were available.

There being no further business, the Executive Committee adjourned.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Executive Secretary*



## American Historical Association

During the Association's early years it published, under the imprint of G. P. Putnam's Sons, an annual volume containing the minutes and the papers read at the meetings. The Association has on hand a limited number of Volumes I to V (1884-89) inclusive. All are complete except Volume I, which is short two papers long out of print. The minutes of the first meeting as well as the list of members is in this volume. Many of the papers are by scholars counted today among the foremost in our history. These volumes are offered now to members and libraries in a clearance sale for \$3.50 for the five, postage paid. Checks and money orders should be made payable to the American Historical Association and sent to the office of the Executive Secretary, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C.

The list of members of the American Historical Association, to June, 1950, published as part of Volume I of the *Annual Report for 1949*, is now ready for distribution by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Unfortunately, contrary to directions from the office of the Association, the Government Printing Office printed no separates of the list and only a limited number of extra copies of the volume. These may be procured, while they last, for \$1.50.

The Program Committee for the 1951 meeting of the Association in New York is now complete: William H. Dunham, jr., Yale University, chairman; Evalyn A. Clark, Vassar College; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; Louis Gottschalk, University of Chicago; Anatole G. Mazour, Stanford University.

The sixth annual competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship of the American Historical Association for the best original manuscript in American history will close on June 1, 1951. Established in 1945 for a five-year experimental period, this fellowship was placed on a permanent footing by action of the Council of the Association in December, 1950. The fellowship has a cash value of \$1,000 and also provides for free publication in the Beveridge series. Honorable mention may also be awarded for one or more additional manuscripts, and this award too carries with it free publication in the Beveridge series. "American history" is interpreted as including the history of the United States, Canada, and Latin America. All correspondence, including requests for further information and forms of application, should be addressed to Arthur P. Whitaker, Chairman, Committee on the Beveridge Fund, 208 College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa. (For the fellowship award for 1950, see p. 712 above.)

Special attention of members is called to the establishment of a new prize accepted by the Council on December 27, 1950, as a gift from the Taraknath Das Foundation. The prize, in the amount of \$100 and named in honor of Robert Livingston Schuyler, will be given every five years "to the author of the best work of scholarship published during the preceding five-year period in the field of modern British and British Imperial and Commonwealth history, since the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, exclusive of American colonial history before 1783. Textbooks and elementary narratives will not be eligible—the author must be an American citizen and the book must have been originally published in the United States. The first award is to be made in 1951." The committee for this award consists of Professors Paul Knaplund, University of Wisconsin, George Brown, University of Toronto, John B. Brebner, Columbia University. Communication should be made to the chairman, Professor Paul Knaplund.

The committee authorized at the 1950 meeting of the Council in Chicago to advise the Director of the Census on possible historical studies in the field of immigration (see p. 741 above) will hold its first meeting in conjunction with the April convention of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Cincinnati. The chairman, Professor O. Fritiof Ander of Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, would welcome suggestions helpful to the committee's efforts to locate private individuals and agencies for the conduct of the special studies relating to immigration and related subjects.

The attention of members is again called to the Anglo-American Conference of Historians to be held at the Institute of Historical Research in London, July 9–14, 1951. The secretary is Taylor Milne, Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, University of London, London, W.C.1. He would be happy to receive notice of any American historian expecting to attend.

### Other Historical Activities

Paris was the scene of the first International Historical Congress to be held since the war under the auspices of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences (August 27 to September 2, 1950). Nearly 1,400 scholars were listed as participants, and of these there were more than 60 Americans. The Austrians were again present on an official basis. The General Assembly admitted the national committees from Spain and Israel, the latter with the explicit understanding that Arab historians would be accepted by the Israeli National Committee on the same basis as the Jewish historians who currently compose it. The General Assembly also admitted the Verband der Historiker Deutschlands on principle, with the understanding that the incoming Bureau would exercise its usual right to determine whether the German National Committee is fully representative. In

the end, no delegates came from countries behind the iron curtain, although a telegram from the president of the Belgrade Academies arrived only at the last minute to send the regrets of the Yugoslav delegation that it could not attend. The Czech and Polish national committees, however, sent their annual dues on the same day, some three weeks before the Congress convened.

The meetings took place for the most part at the Sorbonne. They began with a meeting for all delegates in the Grand Amphitheater, addressed by the minister of education, M. Lapie, and various others. Thereafter the morning sessions were devoted to reports on key developments in different fields during the past decade. These were published in a separate volume, distributed in advance. The meetings themselves were reserved for discussion, and in the instances where rapporteurs had followed instructions closely the discussions were generally spirited and fruitful. The rapporteurs frequently indicated needs and directions for further development: the meeting on Slavic studies, for instance, decided to create an international commission on Slavic studies, in the tradition of earlier commissions under the aegis of the International Committee of Historical Sciences and accessible to scholars concerned with the full range of Slavic studies, from philology to history and economics. The afternoon meetings were devoted to a wide variety of papers of the more conventional type. Some 230 papers of all kinds were listed on the Congress program.

Otherwise the Congress functioned much as did prewar meetings. Basic policy is determined by the Bureau (Executive Committee), subject to the approval in most cases by the General Assembly. The Bureau normally meets at least once a year, and met twice during the Congress. The General Assembly, which includes two representatives from each national committee, meets twice during each Congress, and as often as needed between Congresses. The Bureau, whose members are chosen for five years (the interval between Congresses) had the following members elected at Paris: *President*: Robert Fawtier (Paris); *Vice Presidents*: Sir Charles Webster (London), Nils Ahnlund (Stockholm); *Secretary General*: Michel François (Paris); *Treasurer*: Anton Largiader (Zurich); *Membres assesseurs (members at large)*: Heinrich Felix Schmid (Vienna), Frans van Kalken (Brussels), Luigi Salvatorelli (Rome), Silvio Zavala (Mexico City), Donald C. McKay (Cambridge, Massachusetts); *Membres conseillers (former presidents of the Bureau)*: Halvdan Koht (Oslo), Waldo G. Leland (Washington, D.C.), Hans Nabholz (Zollikon-près-Zurich); M. Bosch-Guimpera, observer from UNESCO.

The International Committee has normally sponsored a series of special commissions. Certain of these have now been reactivated, notably those on bibliography, assemblies of estates, ecclesiastical history, military history, diplomatic history, history of social movements, iconography, numismatics, and publications. The Commission on Bibliography met under the direction of its new chairman, M. Julien Cain, the director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, with Solon J. Buck

representing the United States. It was decided to publish the volume for 1950 of the *International Bibliography of the Historical Sciences* and then to determine what form the *Bibliography* might best take thereafter on the basis of suggestions from each member of the committee.

It was decided that the International Committee would not revive the *Bulletin* produced before the war but would report its activities and summaries of significant additions to historical knowledge in the *Bulletin* of the Conseil International de la Philosophie et des Sciences Humaines, of which the International Committee of the Historical Sciences forms a part and which is supported by UNESCO.

The General Assembly accepted the invitation of the Italian National Committee to hold the 1955 Congress in Rome, and decided to give subsequent priority in its consideration to the invitation of the Swedish National Committee to hold the 1960 Congress in Stockholm. It was urged on the Assembly that the date of the 1955 meeting be fixed at such a time in September that American scholars could attend. The next meeting of the Bureau has been tentatively set for Stockholm in October, 1951, and a second concurrent meeting of the Bureau and the General Assembly in Brussels in 1952. It is hoped that a much larger representation of American scholars will be present at the Congress in Rome, and that our colleagues will make plans where possible to be in Europe that summer. Inquiries may be addressed to Donald C. McKay, 127 Littauer Center, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

The delegates agreed that they were deeply in debt to the French National Committee for the vigor which it had brought to the organization of the 1950 Congress in the face of very real financial and other difficulties. M. Robert Fawtier, the president of the French Committee and the new president of the International Committee, labored tirelessly and imaginatively in making the arrangements for the Congress.

During the recent meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, there was constituted an American subcommittee of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions. This is one of several permanent commissions which have been authorized by the International Congress of Historical Sciences, and was founded in 1933. During the meeting of the Congress in Paris, August, 1950, all previously authorized commissions were reviewed, and it was decided that the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions should not only be continued but encouraged to further expansion on an international basis. Acting in accordance with the views expressed in Paris, the president of the commission, Professor Helen M. Cam of Harvard University, called together a group of historians during the recent meeting in Chicago. This group, reinforced by the expressed support of a number of others unable to be present,

agreed to set up an American subcommittee. There are in existence six other national subcommittees, in Belgium, England, France, Ireland, Italy, and Spain. The purposes of the commission are, first, the encouragement of research and publication concerning the origins and development of representative institutions and the dissemination of relevant bibliographical information, and, second, the support of the publications of the commission which are issued by the University of Louvain under the title, *Etudes présentées à la Commission Internationale pour l'histoire des assemblées d'états*. It is planned to continue this series, under international editorship. Further information concerning the commission and its publications may be secured from the secretary of the newly formed American subcommittee, Professor William F. Church, Department of History, Brown University.

The Library of Congress has recently published *American History and Civilization: A List of Guides and Annotated or Selective Bibliographies*, compiled by Donald H. Mugridge, fellow in American history. Mr. Mugridge has compiled a brief list of only twenty pages, but one which covers in its 109 items a broad background of topics and subject fields. Free copies of this bibliography will be made available to libraries upon request to the Publications Section, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C. The Library has also published *Korea: An Annotated Bibliography of Publications in Far Eastern Languages* (167 pp., \$1.15). This work completes the series in which it was preceded by the compilations of *Korea: An Annotated Bibliography of Publications in Western Languages* (155 pp., \$1.10) and *Korea: An Annotated Bibliography of Publications in the Russian Language* (84 pp., 65 cents). Copies of these bibliographies may be purchased at the indicated prices from the Card Division of the Library of Congress. Another publication recently issued by the Library is *Christopher Columbus: A Selected List of Books and Articles by American Authors or Published in America*. This list will supplement the comprehensive bibliography on Columbus which was issued in 1891 by the Genoese Center of Columbian Studies in Italy. Free copies will be made available to libraries upon request to the Publications Section of the Library of Congress. The Library announced on October 29 the completion of the joint project of the Library of Congress and the University of North Carolina of the microfilming of the official papers of the 48 states. Films were made of the legislative, judicial, and executive records of the states, territories, and colonial possessions, and the collection contains some 2,500,000 pages or the equivalent of more than 8,300 books of 300 pages each. A guide to the contents has been prepared and is available at the Library for \$5.00 per copy. Positive copies of any reel of the film can be procured for \$15 per 100-foot reel. The November issue of the *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* (Volume VIII, No. 1) is a sesquicentennial issue. Members of the staff contributing from the standpoint of their special interests have sum-

marized holdings of material printed before 1800 or manuscripts and maps originating before that date. The essay by Donald Mugridge on the first purchases of books adds an element of interest to what is in sum a contribution to the cultural history of the United States in the eighteenth century.

The Historical Division of the National Park Service has prepared and published a most interesting and attractively illustrated series of pamphlets on historic sites administered by the Park Service. So far eight have appeared: Jamestown, Lee Mansion, Hopewell Village, Saratoga, Morristown, Gettysburg, Fort McHenry, and the Lincoln Museum (and the house where Lincoln died). Not the least of the achievements of Mr. Ronald Lee and his fellow historians in the Park Service was their success in convincing the Government Printing Office that there is nothing unconstitutional in making pamphlets attractive as well as accurate. The pamphlets are obtainable at twenty cents each from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

The last letter which George Washington wrote while commander in chief of the Continental Army has been added to the series of facsimiles of historic documents being issued by the National Archives. The letter is dated December 23, 1783, and is addressed to Baron von Steuben, a Prussian volunteer who served as inspector general of the Army. It praises "de Steuben" for his faithful services. Other recently produced but previously unannounced facsimiles include reproductions of a photograph of Orville Wright making the first airplane flight to last over an hour and a letter signed by President Theodore Roosevelt, dated January 22, 1907, and addressed to Secretary of War William Howard Taft. In the letter Roosevelt emphatically rejects the idea of an American protectorate over Cuba and supports independence for Cuba.

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park has received the papers of Elbert D. Thomas, recently appointed High Commissioner of the Trust Islands of the Pacific. They range in date from the time he served as missionary of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, 1907-12, through his service in the United States Senate, 1933-50. Herbert C. Pell of Pellbridge, Hopewell Junction, N. Y., has also presented his papers to the library. For the most part, they cover the period 1930-48, and, in addition to his correspondence with Franklin D. Roosevelt, they contain his personal correspondence while minister to Hungary and Portugal and a member of the War Crimes Commission.

*The Papers of Randolph of Roanoke*, a preliminary checklist of the surviving writings of John Randolph in manuscript and in print, compiled by William E. Stokes, jr., and Francis L. Berkeley, jr., was published recently by the University of Virginia Library, as Volume IX in its "Bibliographical Series." Its issuance has



already brought to light more than fifty previously unknown Randolph letters in private hands.

The Reference Division of the Brooklyn College Library has compiled a "Subject Index to Chapter Headings in the *Cambridge Medieval History*." A limited number of copies of this mimeographed pamphlet are available for free distribution. Address requests to Mrs. Rose Z. Sellers, Chief Special Services Librarian, Brooklyn College Library, Brooklyn 10, New York.

The New York Public Library in co-operation with the Army Historical Office has prepared a tentative list of Unit Histories of World War II. There are some 1,200 titles included. After the circulation and revision of this mimeographed list, it is planned to prepare a definitive list. Scholars, librarians, and publishers who are interested and could possibly supply additional titles may get copies of the preliminary bibliography from the New York Public Library, Fifth Ave. and 42d St., New York 18.

The Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., has issued and will supply on request the thirty-fourth edition of the price list of government publications available in the field of American history. It bears the date, August, 1950.

The University of California has announced the purchase of approximately 100,000 Japanese, Chinese, and Korean books from the Mitsui Library of Tokyo. The books will soon be added to the university's East Asiatic Library, which started in 1947 with 70,000 volumes, and which, with this recent addition, now includes approximately 225,000 volumes.

The first series of *Bulletins on Soviet Economic Development*, containing four numbers, has recently been completed and the second series will be forthcoming in the near future. Edited by Alexander Baykov and published by the department of economics and institutions of the USSR in the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science, University of Birmingham, England, the *Bulletins* aim to provide readers with an analytical summary of material published in the Soviet Union on Soviet economic developments. The second series, which will also consist of four numbers, will consider the results of the postwar Five-Year Plan in all the main branches of the Soviet economy. Each series is priced at £1.

The initial numbers of two periodicals have come to the editor's desk recently. Their titles suggest their contents and purpose. One is the Italian *Letterature moderne: Rivista di varia umanità* published in Milan under the direction of Francesco Flora. The price is \$4.00 in the United States. The address is Largo

Richini 10, Milan, Italy. The second, *Provence historique*, is published by the Departmental Archives of Marseille. The subscription outside France is 300 francs and should be addressed to F. Rebuffat, Palais de la Bourse, Marseille, France.

As a companion to the catalog of printed diaries on American history prior to 1861 edited by William Matthews, Miss Julia Simmons has undertaken to prepare a catalogue of manuscript diaries. Her project does not set a terminal date as did Matthews'. She would be glad to hear from those having in their possession such unpublished diaries. Her address is 406 Seventh Street, Huntington Beach, California.

The Science Press, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with the co-operation of the American Council of Learned Societies, is undertaking a second edition of the *Directory of American Scholars*. They hope to produce a directory of about 25,000 persons in the various fields included in the directory. There is an obvious need for such a publication, and it is equally obvious that the first edition, published in 1942, is out of date. Jaques Cattell, editor of the directory (Lancaster, Pa.), and Dr. Charles E. Odegaard, executive director of the A.C.L.S., urge all scholars who have received questionnaires to fill them out promptly. They also urge those scholars who were included in the first edition and did not receive questionnaires to notify the editor of the directory, who has received some 2,000 returns which are undeliverable.

Two important committees are currently studying the nation's resources in specialized personnel. The value of their studies will depend on the co-operation of the specialists in all fields in filling out and returning questionnaires to be formulated and distributed. This necessarily vague note has its point in the earnest request that readers who receive the inquiries will give them prompt and serious attention.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association held its annual meeting at Occidental College in Los Angeles December 27-29. Officers elected for the year 1951 are John J. Van Nostrand, University of California, Berkeley, president; W. Stull Holt, University of Washington, vice-president; John A. Schutz, California Institute of Technology, secretary-treasurer; Harold H. Fisher, Stanford University, T. A. Larson, University of Wyoming, Raymond Muse, Washington State College, and Richard W. Van Alstyne, University of Southern California, members of the Council. John W. Caughey, managing editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*, is ex officio a member of the council also. The awards for historical research were as follows: European history: "The Gold Coast," by Sister F. M. Bourret of the San Francisco College for Women,

with honorable mention to "The First British Labour Government" by Frederick Schneider of Stanford University; American history: "Pietist in Colonial Pennsylvania: Christopher Sauer, Printer 1738-1758" by William R. Steckel of the University of Wyoming; Pacific history: "The Admiral Line and Its Competitors" by Giles T. Brown of Orange Coast College. In 1951 the Pacific Coast Branch is again offering \$50 prizes in each of these fields. The chairmen of the committee on awards for this year are as follows: in European history, Francis J. Bowman of the University of Southern California; in American history, Paul S. Smith of Whittier College; and in Pacific history, Lawrence Kinnaird of the University of California, Berkeley.

The fourteenth annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists met in Madison, Wisconsin, October 9 and 10, 1950. "Areas of Cooperation between the National Archives and State Archives," "Church Archives in the United States," and "Recent Developments in Federal Archives Activities" were among topics discussed. The officers for 1950-1951 are Philip C. Brooks, president; William J. Van Schreeven, vice-president; Roger Thomas, secretary; and Helen L. Chatfield, treasurer.

The annual meeting of the Northern New England Historians Conference was held at Dartmouth College at Hanover, New Hampshire, on October 14-15, 1950. Representatives were present from Amherst, Bates, Bennington, Bowdoin, Colby, Dartmouth, Marlboro, Massachusetts, Middlebury, Mount Holyoke, New Hampshire, Norwich, Smith, St. Anselm's, and Vermont. The dinner speaker on Saturday night, October 14, was Rev. Robert D. Quirk, O.S.B., of St. Anselm's College, who spoke on the topic "The Benedictines—Past, Present, and Future." The problem of communism and academic freedom in the colleges was the subject of a Sunday morning roundtable discussion presided over by Professor E. C. Kirkland of Bowdoin.

Northwestern University will offer as a feature of its Centennial Summer Sessions, the first "Institute on Contemporary Africa" to be organized in the United States. Courses will be given in the political and economic problems of Africa, African native cultures, African languages, African art, the role of missions in Africa, and modern programs of education in Africa. The faculty will include Vernon McKay, U.S. State Department; Kenneth L. Little, University of Edinburgh; Harry R. Rudin, Yale University; Joseph Greenberg and Paul Wingert, both of Columbia University; and Lyndon Harries, School of Oriental and African Studies, London. The program is financed through a recent grant to Northwestern by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. For further information, write to Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, Director of the Institute, Department of Anthropology, Evanston, Illinois. Among the visiting personnel in the department of history

for the summer session at Northwestern will be Richard H. Chowen, Ohio State University, Carlton C. Qualey, Carleton College, and Professor Rudin.

The city of Genoa is sponsoring in the week of March 15 a celebration of the fifth centennial of the birth of Columbus in that city. Professor Robert S. Lopez of Yale University has accepted an invitation of the committee to read a paper at the convocation on March 15. Professor Paolo Revelli, president of the Center for Columbus Studies, and the mayor of the city, Dr. Gelasio Adamoli, are in charge of the celebration. Papers read at the meeting will appear in a volume "Studies on Columbus," which will be published in Genoa on October 12, 1951, by the municipal committee for the Columbus celebration.

The Social Science Research Council has recently announced fellowships and grants to be offered in 1951. Of these, three classifications stipulate August 15, 1951, as the closing date for applications: (1) Predoctoral and postdoctoral Research Training Fellowships for men and women who have demonstrated exceptional aptitude for research and who wish to obtain more advanced research training than that which is provided in the usual Ph.D. program. (2) Area Research Training Fellowships for advanced training in preparation for research clearly related to understanding of the contemporary culture of a major world area outside the United States. Preference will be given to applications for work in the fields of the social sciences, but applications may also be considered for work in closely related fields of the humanities and natural sciences which are pertinent to an understanding of the people and culture of an area. (3) Travel Grants for Area Research for mature scholars of established competence as specialists on the contemporary culture of a major world area outside the United States. Applications for any of the above must be made on forms provided by the Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

The American Philosophical Society has recently made research grants to the following scholars in history and related fields: LaWanda Cox, Hunter College, studies in the history of farm labor in the United States, 1865-1900; Jeter Allen Isely, Princeton University, full-length biography of Horace Greeley, 1811-72; Alfred P. James, University of Pittsburgh, Benjamin Franklin and the frontier, with emphasis on financial investments and landholdings; Norman R. Rich, Bucks, England, preparation for publication of diaries, memoirs, and correspondence of a German statesman; Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania, place of business enterprise in the development of the American Southwest and Far West in the twentieth century; George Boas, Johns Hopkins University, the transcription of a Latin MS., *De Marcocosmo* by M-A. Trivisano; Richard B. Davis, University of Tennessee, edition of the letters passed between the abbé Correa, Portuguese minister to the United States, and the Jefferson circle, 1812-

20; John C. Trever, Council on Religious Education, paleographic studies related to the Dead Sea Scrolls; André B. Delattre, University of Pennsylvania, to locate the original MSS. of the letters of Voltaire and obtain photocopies; Marion E. Blake, Bradford, Vermont, study of Roman construction from Augustus to Constantine; Erwin H. Ackerknecht, University of Wisconsin, history of the Paris Clinical School, 1800-50; Eva-Maria Jung, Georgetown University, biography of Vittoria Colonna.

The ninth annual Carey-Thomas Award, sponsored by the R. R. Bowker Company, for a distinguished example of creative American book publishing, was given January 4 to the Princeton University Press for *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Julian P. Boyd, Princeton University librarian. Honorable mentions were accorded the McGraw-Hill Book Company for the publication of *Boswell's London Journal*, edited by Frederick Pottle, and to the Columbia University Press for the new edition of the *Columbia Encyclopedia*.

During the week October 10-16, Arnold J. Toynbee delivered four lectures at Pomona College, entitled "Human Adaptability and Its Limits," "The Problem of Studying Contemporary History," "What Is Our Religion?" and "The Cold War in the Roman Empire."

Felix E. Hirsch, professor of history at Bard College, gave eight lectures under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs in January and February, 1951. The lectures dealt with the present political conditions of Germany and were given before branches of the Institute including Halifax, Quebec, Montreal, and Ottawa.

Historians and other members of university faculties will be interested to learn of the UNESCO gift coupon plan. The United States National Commission for UNESCO is the first to accept the plan. By buying UNESCO gift stamps, at 25 cents each, individuals may contribute to the purchase of gift coupons in ten-dollar denominations to be sent to educational institutions in war-devastated or underdeveloped countries. These institutions use the coupons in the regular commercial markets of the world as an international money order to obtain a wide range of educational materials. Experience with UNESCO book coupons led to the adoption of these gift stamps and coupons as the most practical way to provide scientific and audio-visual aids and other needs for institutions in countries that do not manufacture them. UNESCO maintains priority lists of institutions and their specific needs. Groups interested in the UNESCO gift coupon plan should write to the National Commission for UNESCO, United Nations Building, New York City. Individual requests for stamps cannot be handled. When a group has sold the stamps and sent a minimum of \$50 to head-

quarters, gift coupons will be issued to the participating organization bearing the names of the donor group and the recipient institution. The donor organization will then mail the gift coupons directly to the institution of its choice for purchase of specified items of an educational, scientific, or cultural nature.

The Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, which arranges Fulbright appointments on the professorial level, announces that the following three foreign scholars in the field of history are available to interested institutions: Abd El Hamid Khaled Hamdy, professor of international relations and economic history, Farouk University, Cairo, Egypt; Naguib Mikhail Ibrahim, assistant professor, Faculty of Arts, Farouk I University, Alexandria, Egypt; Dagfinn Mannsaker, research scholar, formerly assistant professor in church history, University of Oslo.

## Personal

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Lawrence Henry Gipson, research professor of history in Lehigh University, will be Harmsworth professor of American history in the University of Oxford for the academic year 1951-52.

Ernst Kantorowicz is visiting professor at Dumbarton Oaks Research Library during the spring semester.

David Mitrany, of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, has been named William Allan Neilson research professor at Smith College for the second semester.

Julius W. Pratt, dean of the graduate school in the University of Buffalo, has been named the first incumbent of the Samuel Paul Capen professorship of American history, which was recently established as a tribute to the chancellor emeritus of the university.

Arthur C. Bining, editor of *Social Studies* since 1937, has resigned. His successor is Leonard B. Irwin, principal of the Haddon Heights High School, Haddon Heights, New Jersey. Dr. Bining will continue as a member of the editorial board.

Richard H. Heindel, formerly executive associate with the Social Science Research Council, has been appointed deputy director of the UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State.



Franklin Littell, formerly director of Lane Hall, University of Michigan, has been appointed chief of evangelical affairs with the High Commissioner for Germany and is now stationed in Frankfort.

The Alabama Polytechnic Institute announces the following changes in the history department: Robert Rea has been appointed assistant professor of European history to take the place of James H. Grisham, who is on leave of absence to work on his doctorate at the University of Texas. Joseph Harrison, jr., has been appointed assistant professor of American history. M. C. McMillan has been promoted to associate professor, and Richard H. Bjurberg has resigned to enter the service of the American Red Cross.

Helen F. Mulvey has been promoted to assistant professor in Connecticut College, Storrs.

Madeleine Rice has been promoted to assistant professor of history in Hunter College.

Harvey Goldberg and Clifford Morrison have been appointed instructors in history in the Ohio State University.

John P. Cavarinos, of the Institute for Classical Studies, Harvard University, has taken over the work at Rutgers University this year of Peter Charanis, who is on leave as visiting professor at the University of Wisconsin. Richard P. McCormick of Rutgers has been elected president of the New Jersey Historical Society.

Lowell Ragatz, of Ohio State University, will offer courses in modern imperialism in the 1951 summer session of the University of Southern California.

John D. Wright, jr., has been named assistant professor of history in Transylvania College, Lexington, Kentucky.

John Douglas Forbes has been promoted to professor of history and fine arts at Wabash College.

Jack W. Henry, jr., formerly of Hood College, has been appointed assistant professor of history at Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland.

#### RECENT DEATHS

By the death of Dr. Randolph Greenfield Adams, on January 4, 1951, in Ann Arbor, the historical field lost a great contributor. Not only his family, but a

wide group of friends and associates will regret the passing of this distinguished bibliophile and curator of manuscripts and maps, who, since 1923, has been director of the W. L. Clements Library, a remarkable collection of rare books and manuscripts, with stress on the period of the American Revolution. Born in Philadelphia, he graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1914, served as an assistant in history there, in 1915-1916, was a fellow in the University of Chicago in 1916-17, and received his Ph.D. in history at Pennsylvania in 1920, after serving with the A.E.F. in France, as a second lieutenant in the Q.M.C., in World War I. He was a trustee of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library, and president of the American Bibliographical Society, 1940-41. His scholarship record won him membership in Phi Beta Kappa and other honorary societies, and he taught history at Trinity College, now Duke University, from 1920 to 1923. His earlier work, *Political Ideas of the American Revolution* (1922), centered on Benjamin Franklin, won wide recognition from scholars in the field. His interest was in the colonial period, and later it spread over the entire area of the Americas, and, following the printing of his *History of American Foreign Policy*, in 1924, he added books and manuscript materials to the library's collection, which included greater America, with Canada and Latin America within its scope.

In his years as director of the W. L. Clements Library, he published many volumes of documents, with proper introductory notes, planned numerous exhibits of historical material, with proper guides and references for the use of visitors. Among them are to be noted his *Passports Printed by Benjamin Franklin* (1925); his *Gateway to American History* (1927); *The British Headquarters Maps 1776-82* (1928); *Pilgrims, Indians, and Patriots* (1928); and *Three Americanists* (1929). In 1929 he was also a visiting professor in Scotland. Further publications in historical journals as well as continued library official publications marked the following years. As director of the Clements Library he was a friend and adviser to all who used its sources for research. While he insisted on accuracy, he was kind to all research workers, and was able to draw on his broad fund of experience to help other scholars as both a mentor and a friend. All will regret that he will collect no more rare and precious historical materials and advise no more seekers among the riches of the library he administered and strengthened.

Dmitri Daniel Fedotoff White died at Philadelphia on November 20, 1950, in his sixty-second year. Dr. White's long and productive dual career as man of action and as scholar began with his graduation at seventeen from the Imperial Historico-Philological Institute in St. Petersburg, and at twenty from the Naval College in the same city. Thereafter he succeeded as few men have in reconciling two simultaneous careers of intense activity and notable achievement.

As a man of action, he served successively, under Imperial Russia, as naval

officer before and during the First World War, and as diplomat in various posts in Washington, London, and Paris; under Great Britain, as naval officer with the British fleet in the White and Baltic Seas; under Admiral Kolchak, as naval officer in the Siberian river flotillas and in the naval battalions serving on land; and finally under Soviet Russia, as technical adviser and administrator with the Marine Transport Division and as teacher at the Shaniavsky University in Moscow. In 1921, he came to the United States and entered the service of the Cunard Line, later becoming manager of that company's office in Philadelphia. In 1939 he was appointed to a post of large responsibility—chairman of the British Ministry of War Transport for Philadelphia.

In his career of independent study and research in history, Dr. White published his first article, "Outline of the Mexican Revolution," in St. Petersburg in 1916, in the *Morskoi Sbornik* (the Russian naval review). Thereafter his monographs and special studies appeared in a steady stream in professional, literary, and scholarly periodicals in Europe and America. In the United States Dr. White studied at the University of Pennsylvania and at Columbia University, receiving his doctorate from the latter institution in 1944. His dissertation, *The Growth of the Red Army*, published in 1944, was his best-known work of scholarship—an excellent book of widely recognized authority.

After the Second World War, declining health forced Dr. White to confine his energies and attention solely to the pursuit of his researches, in which he benefited by the constant assistance of his wife. One of his major projects was a study of Soviet theories of primitive society, carried forward under a senior fellowship of the Russian Institute of Columbia University, but unfortunately left unfinished. He was an able scholar, a rich and impressive personality, outstanding in the warmth and understanding of his devotion to the country of his adoption.

Albert B. Faust, professor emeritus of German literature at Cornell University, died February 8 at the age of eighty. He was best known in the historical field for his volume, *The German Element in the United States* (1900), and *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* (1916). He had been a member of this Association since 1912 and had contributed articles and reviews to this quarterly.

George Morton Churchill, professor emeritus of English history, George Washington University, died on December 15, 1950, at the age of seventy-six. Dr. Churchill had served as instructor in history and assistant professor (1908–23), professor of history (1923–37), and professor of English history (1937–39).

Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, widow of the late Dunbar Rowland and a historian in her own right, died in Albany, Georgia, on January 6, 1951, in her ninetieth

year. She is best known for her two-volume life of *Varina Howell, Wife of Jefferson Davis* (1927-31) and the volume on *Andrew Jackson's Campaign against the British, or the Mississippi Territory in the War of 1812* (1926).

## Communications

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In a vigorous attack upon certain currents in contemporary American historical thought ("Some Observations on Contemporary Historical Theory," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LV [April, 1950], 503-29), Chester M. Destler advances an interpretation of the genesis and structure of the "new historiography" (subjectivist-relativist-presentism) based upon a rather startling manipulation of the evidence. Even the triple-plated label which Destler fastens upon the "new historiography" is designed to arouse an appropriate psychological aversion to the sinister threat which lurks beneath this term. Who wants to be branded with epithets like "subjectivist" and "relativist," which are as emotionally charged as certain other terms current in the language of political controversy? Who wants to be identified with something as mysterious and ill-defined as "presentism"? Putting aside for the moment the question of terminology, let us examine some of the evidence which Destler, as an apologist for the objectively scientific, empirical method, marshals against the devil's advocate.

As might be expected, the real threat to the sound traditions of American scholarship comes from foreign shores. Destler hastens to assure his fellow scholars that "the major, if not initial, impetus has come from the prolific pen of Benedetto Croce" (p. 504). The philosophy of pragmatism is indicated as an accessory before the fact inasmuch as it has predisposed some American historians to a hasty and uncritical acceptance of a European relativist historiography (p. 508). But there can be no question that the new historiography is essentially Crocean: "Perhaps because the first important American historians in sympathy with the movement went directly to Croce for inspiration, as did Carl Becker and Charles A. Beard, the new historical theory was transmitted to our shores in a form not far removed from its initial formulation at his hands" (p. 506).

For a brief moment Destler appears to waver in his determination to fix sole responsibility for the dangerous "Copernican revolution" in historical thought upon Croce. Perhaps such a unilateral assertion might not be readily acceptable to American historians who have not in the main shown themselves to be passionate disciples of any explicit philosophy. Moreover, it might be prudent to recognize that forces other than Croce were at work in the intellectual history of the twentieth century. The modified thesis now holds that the advocates of the new historical theory, abandoning the natural sciences as the basic model and orientation for historical research and writing, "urge us now to accept as the ultimate justification and controlling frame of reference for historical studies in the United States certain concepts that derive from metaphysical idealism, Freudian psychology, and Marxism" (p. 506). But for Destler this is just so much window-dressing; responsibility for the regrettable deviation in American historical thought must rest squarely with Croce. "What is left," Destler concludes, "as a basis for historical operations, if we must discard as unsound the theoretical presuppositions of the new historiography? We have what we had before Croce's system was imported from Europe and what we have been developing in prac-

tice ever since: history as an increasingly mature, empirical discipline. . ." (p. 526).

The thesis that Becker, Beard, Read, their followers, and, apparently, by implication, all those who have turned away from the once dominant ideal of scientific history,<sup>1</sup> as well as J. H. Randall and Dewey, are Croceans or derive from Croce is simply fantastic. No one who has devoted serious attention to Croce's philosophy would claim so much for his influence. No one who is acquainted with the theoretical writings of American historians and with Croce's *storicismo* would claim that the former are substantially compatible with the latter. Although Beard had warm praise for Croce's historical theories, his own theoretical writings are certainly more influenced by modern German historians than by Croce; the controlling ideas, terminology, and sociological overtones are alien to the spirit of Croce's *storicismo*. The occasional frosty reference by Becker to Croce hardly indicates a sympathetic acceptance of his ideas.<sup>2</sup> The question of relationship of Becker to Croce, incidentally, casts an interesting light on Destler's method of establishing evidence. According to Destler, internal evidence suggests but does not prove that the early part of Becker's essay "Mr. Wells and the New History," written in 1921, was inspired by Croce's *Theory and History of Historiography*, which appeared in an English translation during the same year (Destler, p. 503, n. 3). (Fully a year after the publication of Becker's essay, his review of Croce's volume appeared in the *New Republic*, XXX [Apr. 5, 1922], 383.) A moment later, with supreme insouciance he asserts that "Gershoy does not note the influence of Croce's presentism on Becker" (p. 504). Without a shred of evidence added to the previous statement, the influence which was there only suggested and not proved by internal evidence now becomes indisputable fact. Why does Destler make no reference to Becker's early article "Some Aspects of the Influence of Social Problems and Ideas upon the Study and Writing of History" (*Am. Jour. of Sociology*, XVIII [1912-13], 641-75)? Would it have upset his neat chronological pattern?

There is nothing in Destler's article to suggest that Croce's concept of history exerted any influence on American historians before 1921, when the English translation of his *Teoria e storia della storiografia* appeared. It would seem, then, on the basis of Destler's own arguments, that the idea and practice of scientific history reigned supreme among American historians until that date. This certainly flies in the teeth of the evidence presented by such competent historians as W. Stull Holt (*op. cit.*) and H. S. Commager (*The American Mind* [New Haven, 1950], pp. 277-309). The decline of the Rankian tradition of scientific history is signalized as an independent process in the works of America's own historians, from Turner's essay on the "Significance of the Frontier in American History" to Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* and Parrington's *Main Currents of American Thought*.

A worth-while study of the influence of Croce on American historians would have required a far more subtle analysis and comparison of Croce's philosophical and historical studies and the writings of the American historians than is apparent in Destler's article. Certainly one might have expected something more than a passing familiarity with Croce's writings. Yet an examination of the passages

<sup>1</sup> For the decline of this ideal see W. Stull Holt, "The Idea of Scientific History in America," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I, 352-62.

<sup>2</sup> Carl L. Becker, *Progress and Power* (Stanford, 1936): "A small company of Neo-Hegelians, with Benedetto Croce as its spokesman, remain confident that the Idea will see us through; but the world is in no mood to heed, even if it could understand, this survival of nineteenth century idealism" (p. 5).

in which Destler refers specifically to Croce reveals a careless use of evidence that does little credit to an apostle of objectivist-empirical-scientific historiography.

In opening his attack on Croce, Destler charges that the major contribution to the deformation of American historical thought came from "the prolific pen of Benedetto Croce" (p. 504). Although several pages later (p. 517) Croce's pen is still prolific, Destler cites only the English translations of three works by Croce, the *Teoria e storia della storiografia*, the *Storia come pensiero e come azione*, and the *Contributo alla critica di me stesso*. (Though only a minor detail, it should be pointed out that the titles of the English translations of the last two works are misleading.) There is not a word to indicate that discussions most pertinent to the subject may be found elsewhere in the four volumes of Croce's *Filosofia dello spirito*, in the thirteen volumes of the *Saggi filosofici*, in the thirty-eight volumes of the *Scritti di storia letteraria e politica*, and even in the three volumes of the *Scritti vari*. To plead the material limits of a short essay is hardly justified; the references to the three works mentioned are of the most generic nature, and the comments on Croce do not show any signs of a close study of the works.

The specific remarks about Croce warrant inspection, given the crucial importance of Croce's position for Destler's argument. An entire paragraph devoted to Croce contains a series of startling propositions based presumably on the entire documentation cited on page 505, but in fact limited to passages from an essay by Richard V. Burks ("Benedetto Croce (1866—)," in *Some Historians of Modern Europe* [Chicago, 1942], ed. by Bernadotte E. Schmitt, pp. 66-99) and from G. A. Borgese's controversial *Goliath*. Croce is virtually excommunicated on the grounds that he is "abysmally and contemptuously ignorant of modern science. . ." (p. 504). The only support for the charge is found in a passage from Burks: "today Croce is the only outstanding philosopher who is ignorant of or indifferent to science, which, as a means of grappling with reality, he persistently subjects to contemptuous ridicule" (Burks, p. 68). Naturally, no supporting evidence is given. The accusation echoes, perhaps unwittingly, the heated and undiscerning polemics of the anti-Croceans of forty years ago; these mistook or misrepresented Croce's criticism of the legitimacy of the methods of the natural sciences in the sphere of the humanistic disciplines as a condemnation of the natural sciences in themselves.

Relying again on Burks, Destler asserts that Croce was a "former positivist historian turned neo-Romanticist philosopher under the influence of Vico, De Sanctis, Marx, and Hegel" (p. 504). With respect to Croce's alleged positivism, Burks had written that Croce did "considerable research abroad, especially in Germany, where he acquired a knowledge of positivist historical method . . ." and that he reveled in "an erudite positivism" (Burks, p. 68). Burks's ultimate authority, ignoring the secondary sources, was Croce's *Contributo alla critica di me stesso*. What Croce actually said was that for some years after his return to Naples in 1886, he lived in a world of libraries and archives, "wholly devoted to erudite studies, also traveling in Germany, Spain, France and England, but always as a man of letters [*da erudito e da letterato*]. . ." (*Contributo alla critica di me stesso* [new ed., Bari, 1945], p. 20). To confuse mere erudition and the toil of archival research with positivism is to misunderstand completely the history and significance of positivism. Croce states explicitly that in these years Platonic-scholastic-Herbartian influences kept him free from "the associationism, positivism, and evolutionism" and from "the naturalism and materialism" domi-



nant in the time of his youth (*ibid.*, p. 39). In a half-century of studies and polemics concerning Croce, no evidence has yet been advanced to indicate any error in his self-analysis. At any rate, in 1893, at the age of twenty-seven Croce wrote his first philosophical study, "La storia ridotta sotto il concetto generale dell'arte." The furious rejoinders of genuinely positivist historians like Pasquale Villari clearly testify that they had no trouble recognizing an adversary. As for presumed influences, it should be pointed out that only subsequently did Croce begin his studies of Marx and Hegel (*ibid.*, pp. 25-26, 40-45; Croce, "Come nacque e come morì il marxismo teorico in Italia (1895-1900)," in appendix to his *Materialismo storico ed economia marxistica* [7th ed., Bari, 1944], pp. 269 ff.).

Of Croce as a "neo-Romanticist philosopher under the influence of Vico, De Sanctis, Marx, and Hegel," Destler's authority had said: "The thinkers who really influenced the construction of Croce's systematic philosophy were Vico, De Sanctis, Marx, and Hegel" (Burks, p. 69). This philosophy was "part of the rising tide of Neo-Romanticism. . ." (*ibid.*, p. 66). As a warm admirer of Arthur O. Lovejoy, Destler should have informed his readers what meaning he attached to neo-Romanticism in this context. Had not Lovejoy insisted that the confusion of terminology and of thought in the discussions of Romanticism had been and still was "copiously productive of historical errors and of dangerously indiscriminating diagnoses of the moral and aesthetic maladies of our age" (*Essays in the History of Ideas* [Baltimore, 1948], p. 234)? Or perhaps Destler subscribes to the Lasserre-Seilliere-Babbitt-More thesis "that something called Romanticism is the chief cause of the spiritual evils from which the nineteenth century and our own have suffered. . ." (*ibid.*, p. 233). Croce is the chief cause of the evils afflicting contemporary American historical thought; *ergo* Croce is a neo-Romanticist. In its present context such a label serves only to inform the reader by indirection that Croce is not a product of English utilitarianism nor does he derive immediately from Descartes.

The next brush-stroke in the intellectual portrait of Croce is yet another flimsy paraphrase of the ever-present secondary source. Destler: "As a young man he [Croce] plunged into the incipient revolt of the nineties against positivism, naturalism, and realism" (p. 504). Burks: Croce's personal intellectual crisis of the nineties "meant merely that he was alive to the incipient revolt in western thought against positivism, naturalism and realism" (Burks, p. 69). One may well ask whether Croce's revolt was a function of the cultural temper of the nineties or whether it was a result of the influence of Croce's four mentors. In the latter case Destler should have studied Croce's intellectual development with greater care (see above). In the former case it would have been necessary to show what forces were at work in the "revolt of the nineties" and what was Croce's relationship to these forces.

From this revolt Croce "emerged an outstanding exponent of the new philosophy which stressed impressionism in the arts, violence as a mode of social action, subjective activism for the individual, the supreme consideration of success in public affairs, and relativity in values (Destler, p. 504). Just where in our century can one find the "new philosophy" with precisely this program? Certainly not in Croce. Exactly where in the thousands of pages that Croce has written is the evidence to support these categorical assertions? Instead of consulting the readily available and abundant primary sources, Destler again contents himself with his dependable secondary sources. According to Burks, Croce emphasized "the importance of action, the autonomy of politics, and the rela-

tivity of values" (Burks, p. 71); "he was much preoccupied with the notion that, in politics, the only standard is success" (*ibid.*, pp. 70-71). As for the justification of violence, "at least he translated Sorel's *Reflection on Violence* and accompanied the book with a flattering preface" (*ibid.*, p. 70). Borgese had written that Croce "embraced the Machiavellian theory of the state," arguing that "political activity is a separate faculty of the human mind . . . subject . . . to the test of success alone" (*Goliath*, p. 297). To explore all the ambiguities contained in these statements would require too lengthy a digression, but it is significant that the statements are in no case controlled by direct reference to Croce's writings or to specific passages in those writings. Burks's only attempt at documentation is easily confuted; Croce did not translate Sorel's volume, and his "flattering" preface was actually a review of several other works by Sorel, written two years before the publication of the translation (G. Sorel, *Considerazioni sulla violenza*, tr. by A. Sarno [Bari, 1909], pp. v-xxvii).

It is odd that Destler's only disagreement with his principal source, Burks, concerns the theory of art. Destler has labeled this as "impressionism" although Burks had stated that "Croce derived his expressionistic theory of art . . ." from De Sanctis and that "expressionistic art was defying the tenets of impressionism" (Burks, p. 69). The contradiction is patent. Did Destler misread his source? If Croce's aesthetics is declared to be "impressionistic," the term has been emptied of all its former meanings in the history of art and assigned an arbitrary, undefined signification.

The attempt to demolish and discredit Croce is not completed, however, until he has been properly anathematized on political grounds. Having established the role of Croce in the new philosophy, Destler marshals his attack in three charges: (1) "in this manner" Croce, espousing the "new philosophy," "helped lay the intellectual foundations of Italian Fascism—which he supported in its early years" (p. 504); (2) "American relativists have neglected to indicate . . . the intimate relation that the new Continental historiography has borne to the origins of Fascism" (p. 525); and (3), "the adoption of the subjectivist-presentist-relativism as the basic historical theory contributed to the rise of Fascism and Nazism and their conquest of the universities" (p. 525). What do Burks and Borgese say? According to the former, Croce's philosophy "in a sense . . . had prepared the way for Fascism, emphasizing as it did, the importance of action, the autonomy of politics, and the relativity of values" (Burks, p. 71). Besides, "it was part of the rising tide of Neo-Romanticism, which latterly found political expression in Fascism; indeed, a former disciple [Borgese] of the philosopher argues that the Italian dictator borrowed many of his ideas from Croce's writings" (*ibid.*, p. 66). According to this "disciple" of Croce, "until 1924 he more or less heartily supported Fascism" (Borgese, *Goliath*, p. 296). "All the books and essays of Croce had played into the hand of Mussolini, and no substantial objection to Fascism and Nationalism was visible in the theory idolizing the state as the embodiment of the divine . . . contending that the nation is the ultimate dialectical synthesis of individual and universal" (*ibid.*, pp. 299-300).

To establish the validity of his first contention, Destler would have to prove, as he has not, that Croce espoused the "new philosophy" which he attributes to him (see above); that the avowed "intellectual foundations of Italian Fascism" were operative in the Fascist rise to power and not a posterior rationalization; and that the concepts attributed to the "new philosophy" were actually consonant with the intellectual scheme of Fascism. Impressionism in the arts, subjective activism for the individual, violence as a mode of social action, and relativity in values

are not doctrines entirely compatible with the organismic, totalitarian theory of the Fascists. The second contention, which is actually subsumed under the first, and the third are dependent upon the validity of the passages quoted above from Burks and Borgese. To prove that Croce's philosophy "in a sense . . . had prepared the way for Fascism," Burks would have been obliged to demonstrate, as he did not, that "the importance of actions, the autonomy of politics, and the relativity of values" are factors incompatible with the forms of democratic action. The second passage in Burks is an explicit paraphrase of the second passage quoted from Borgese. The latter, of course, offers no documentation to sustain his charge that Croce's writings played into the hands of Mussolini. He attributes to Croce a theory idolizing "the state as the embodiment of the divine" and the nation as "the ultimate dialectical synthesis of individual and universal." This is absurd: not a line can be cited from Croce's writings to support such a thesis. If Destler and Burks had carefully tested the competence of Borgese as an authority on Croce's philosophy, they would have treated his pronouncements with greater circumspection.

There remains the alleged support that Croce gave to Fascism in its early years (according to Destler) or until 1924 (according to Borgese). The matter is not as simple as these writers would have it appear. Croce himself, in an autobiographical note written in 1934 and published only in 1945, refers to a first moment of nonparticipation and reserve before entering into a resolute and continued opposition in 1924 (*Contributo*, p. 72, n. 1). The reasons why Croce did not immediately enter the opposition upon the advent of the Fascists are clearly set forth in a memoir on his relations with Mussolini, written in 1944 (*Nuove pagine sparse*, serie prima [Naples, 1949], pp. 61-65). At worst, Croce can only be charged with an error in political judgment, an error shared by almost everyone in the Western world. Whether there was a serious possibility in the period from the March on Rome to the Matteotti crisis that the liberal institutions and organization of the state might yet survive the violence and arbitrary acts of the Fascists will be for the historians of the period to decide. During this period three interviews granted by Croce to Italian newspapers attracted considerable attention. (*Giornale d'Italia*, Oct. 27, 1923, and July 10, 1924; *Corriere italiano* [Rome], Feb. 1, 1924. These interviews are reprinted in Croce, *Pagine sparse*, II, 371-79.) If avowed anti-Fascists drew little comfort from certain of Croce's remarks, the strong reservations Croce made with respect to Fascism infuriated the Fascist press. Typical of the tenor of this press was an article of July 10, 1924, published in the *Popolo d'Italia* of Milan with the title "The late Benedetto Croce." (There is an interesting collection of these press attacks in Volumes XXVI and XXVII of a *Miscellany of Writings concerning Croce*, in Croce's private library.)

A few more points concerning Croce's historical concepts proper remain to be clarified. While laying the intellectual foundations for Fascism, Destler states, "Croce inconsistently embraced Hegel's idealism which identified all existence with intellectual activity" (p. 505). A study of Croce's *Filosofia della pratica* (1908), not to mention any other works, earlier or later, might have persuaded Destler that there is much more in Croce's philosophical vision than mere intellectualism. Perhaps Destler would have been more guarded in his assertion if he remembered that, long ago, Miguel de Unamuno hailed Croce's concept of the *economic*, the sphere of vitality, as one of the great achievements of modern philosophical thought.

According to Destler, Croce's view on history "became important for historical

practice when Croce turned against Mussolini in Italy and in a series of major historical works sought to demonstrate the validity of his historical theory and to harmonize it with liberal-positivist history (Destler, p. 505). Destler does not, in this instance, refer to Burks (an oversight?). Croce's histories, the *Storia d'Italia*, the *Storia d'Europa*, and the *Storia come pensiero e come azione*, Burks had written, "are also attempts to reconcile Neo-Romantic and liberal-positivistic conceptions of history" (Burks, p. 72). Confronted with such strange assertions, one can only ask: What, in concrete terms, do these writers mean? What is meant by "liberal-positivist" history? Where in Croce's mature works is there to be found this duality of neo-Romantic and liberal-positivistic conceptions, however these may be defined?

One final roundhouse blast at the new historiographers: "Neither did the followers of Croce or Meinecke and Heussi, nor do now those of Becker, Beard, and Read appear able to see in advance that once they have made their cherished theory the acknowledged basis of historical studies, and accepted the principle of control in the interest of unity of belief, they have transformed history into an instrument of propaganda and surrendered it in advance to whatever power group gains control . . . and have denied to minorities the right to invoke in their behalf the facts and interpretations of history as the disinterested arbiter between all elements in a free society" (Destler, p. 525). When has Croce ever accepted the principle of control in the interest of unity of belief? Who are the followers of Croce who have accepted this principle and transformed history into an instrument of propaganda? Who in all the group mentioned above has ever conceded that the domain of history belongs exclusively to the political majorities or power groups controlling a state? Finally, how can these astounding conclusions be drawn from Croce's theory of history?

If historians are asked to take seriously the sundry assertions catalogued in this paper, they have a right to expect of the writers a thorough knowledge of the sources and careful documentation.

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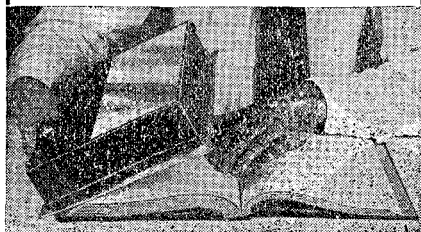
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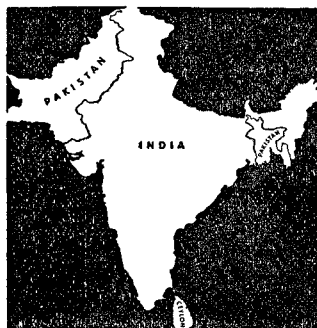
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